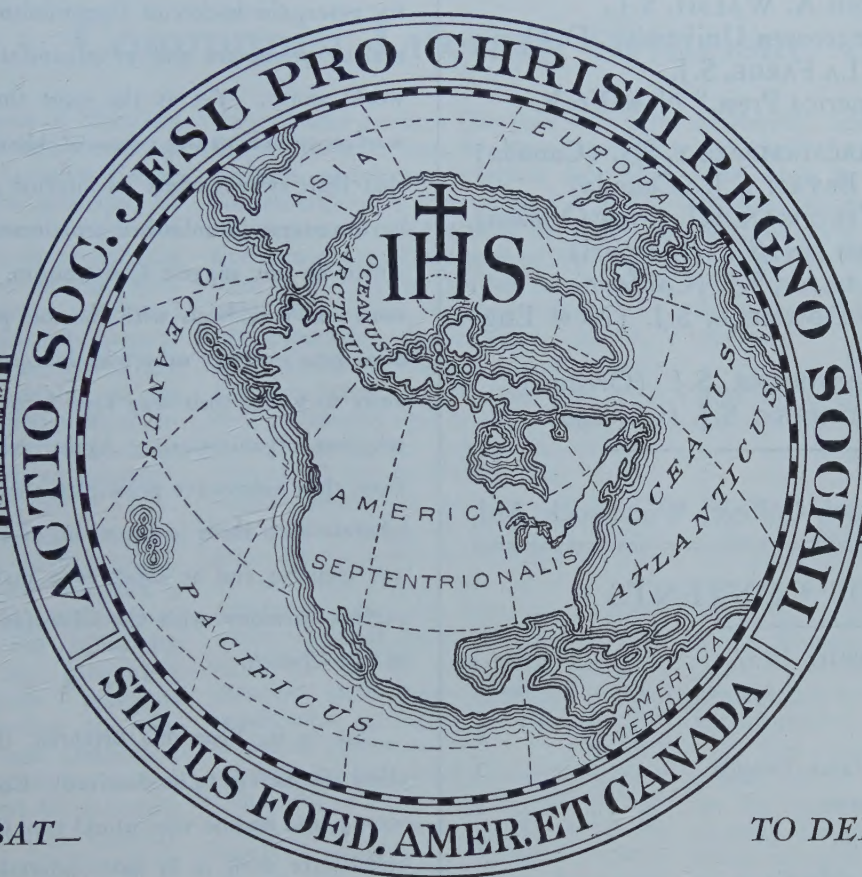


INFORMATIONES ET NOTITIAE

INFORMATION ON COMMUNISM AND INTERNATIONAL ATHEISM



TO COMBAT—

Atheism
Communism
Unholy Greed

TO DEFEND—

Divine Truth
The Christian State
The Charity of Christ

Informationes et Notitiae

NEWS BULLETIN

on

COMMUNISM and INTERNATIONAL ATHEISM

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EDITORIAL

"Be Not Deceived"

"In the beginning Communism showed itself for what it was in all its perversity; but very soon it realized that it was thus alienating the people. It has therefore changed its tactics, and strives to entice the multitudes by trickery of various forms, hiding its real designs behind ideas that in themselves are good and attractive. Thus, aware of the universal desire for peace, the leaders of Communism pretend to be the most zealous promoters and propagandists in the movement for world amity. Yet at the same time they stir up a class-warfare which causes rivers of blood to flow, and, realizing that their system offers no internal guarantee of peace, they have recourse to unlimited armaments. Under various names which do not suggest Communism, they establish organizations and periodicals with the sole purpose of carrying their ideas into quarters otherwise inaccessible. They try perfidiously to worm their way even into professedly Catholic and religious organizations. Again, without receding an inch from their subversive principles, they invite Catholics to collaborate with them in the realm of so-called humanitarianism and charity; and at times even make proposals that are in perfect harmony with the Christian spirit and the doctrine of the Church.

* * *

"See to it, Venerable Brethren, that the Faithful do not allow themselves to be deceived! Communism is intrinsically wrong, and no one who would save Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever. Those who permit themselves to be deceived into lending their aid towards the triumph of Communism in their own country will be the first to fall victims of their error. And the greater the antiquity and grandeur of the Christian civilization in the regions where Communism successfully penetrates, so much more devastating will be the hatred displayed by the godless."

—Pius XI, "Encyclical on Atheistic Communism,"

March 19, 1937.



Part I

Home Survey



As announced last month, the Editors are pleased to present a series of monographs dealing with the activities of American Communists in fields outside politics and economics. The "cultural front" is not neglected in the organized attempt to capture all the instrumentalities capable of influencing public opinion. For this series we are indebted to Rev. Joseph A. Slattery, S.J., Professor of English at Woodstock College, assisted by a group of scholastics of that House of Studies.

Communist Literary Criticism

THE fundamental tenet of Marxian literary theory was laid down by Lenin in 1905. "The Socialist Proletariat must establish the principle of party literature. It must develop this literature and realize it in actual life in the clearest and most concrete form. Down with non-partisan writers! Down with supermen-litterateurs! Literature must become a part of the general proletarian movement, a cog in that vast unified socialist mechanism. Literature must become a component part of the organized, planned, unified, socialist-party work."

Lenin's disciples have not shrunk from the intransigence of this manifesto. Rather, they have evolved a justification of its validity which proceeds as logically from the philosophy of the party as, let us say, Maritain's *Art and Scholasticism* proceeds from Thomism. According to John Strachey in *Literature and Dialectical Materialism*, all sound philosophy had culminated in Hegel and all scientific economics had culminated in Ricardo. It was left for Marx and Engels to marry these two cultural streams, the issue of which was communism. As for bourgeois culture, it is separated from the true current of intellectual life and is flowing aside into unproductive sands—on the one hand into agnostic, anarchic, subjective individualism,—on the other into more and more reactionary "mysticism," apparently Catholicism.

More concretely Joseph Freeman presents the case in *Proletarian Literature in the United States*. "Life today in the period of decaying capitalism and proletarian revolution forced the poet out of his ivory opium den into

the political arena. The poet who deluded himself that he was standing 'upon a watch-tower higher than the battlements of a party' found that this noble gesture of neutrality led in practice straight to the camp of the reaction. * * * Every writer creates not only out of his feelings, but out of his knowledge, his concepts, and his will. However crude or unformulated or prejudiced his philosophy may be it is a philosophy and it colors his work. * * * out of the experience and the science of the proletariat, the revolutionary poets, playwrights and novelists are developing an art which reveals more forces in the world than the love of the lecher and the pride of the narcissist. For the first time in centuries we shall get an art that is truly epic, for it will deal with the tremendous experiences of a class whose world-wide struggle transforms the whole of human society. * * * The free exercise of personality in human relations and in art is not in itself a bad thing. But as long as the mass of mankind consists of exploited workers the art that springs from 'love and pride' is bound to be a limited art and in times like ours a false art. * * * When socially owned machines will be the slaves of men, * * * we may begin to think seriously about a 'pure' art. Until that time, art cannot help being, consciously or unconsciously, class art."

The function of the critic who accepts this view of literature is to assist creative artists in their work. "Critics and criticism include the whole organizational and editorial leadership of revolutionary literature." The critic is the ideologist of the literary

movement, and, as Lenin pointed out "an ideologist is worthy of the name only when he marches ahead of the spontaneous movement, points out the real road and has the vision to solve all the theoretical and tactical problems which the 'material elements' of the movement spontaneously encounter."

According to the editors of the *Partisan Review* this directive activity will operate in four main directions.

1. The critic will labor to increase the writer's awareness of the various "intellectual strata" in his audience. This is particularly necessary in a movement which seeks to enlist and organize the sentiment of all classes from the university on down to the girl in Woolworth's or the negro stevedore. For each class an appropriate symbol and type of phraseology must be discovered.

2. The critic will insist on the necessity of the imaginative assimilation by the artist of his material. "Zeal to steep literature overnight in the political program of Communism results in the attempt to force the reader's response through a barrage of sloganized and ineffective writing." The true material for art, it is insisted, is sensuous experience and not abstract reason. Hence the stuff of revolutionary art is not Marxist doctrine as such but actually or imaginatively realized experiences in the class struggle.

3. The critic should labor to develop and insist on Marxist standards in literature. This point comprehends substance rather than form and regards the purity and intensity of the writer's Marxist faith and morals.

Such orthodoxy is chiefly insured by the writer's active practice of his faith by militant action. "Be ye doers of the word, not hearers only." The chief danger of heterodoxy lies in confusing dialectical materialism with mechanical materialism. "Mechanical materialism assumes a direct determinatism of the whole superstructure by the economic foundation, ignoring the dialectical interaction between consciousness and environment, and the reciprocal influence of the parts of the superstructure on each other and on the economic determinants. The literary counterpart of mechanical determinism faithfully reflects this vulgarization of Marxism. But its effects strike deeper: it paralyzes the writer's capacities by creating a dualism between his artistic consciousness and his beliefs (reducing him to a mere spectator) thus making it impossible for him to achieve anything beyond fragmentary marginal expression." Apparently then, art must be dynamic rather than static. Its ideology must be founded on free-will rather than evolutionary predestination.

4. The critic must be aware of the whole field of the culture of the past as well as of the newest developments in literary technique. He must distinguish what is useable and of permanent value from such processes as are trifling and ephemeral, as well as from those which can serve only as vehicles

for reactionary, individualistic or mystical (i. e. religious) experiences. At the present moment "timeless" themes and the art which is consecrated to them, the communication of intuitions of love, death and the beauty of nature seem to be irrelevant and "false."

Only the briefest sketch of the application of these principles in the writings of revolutionary critics in England and America can be attempted. Most of it will be found, as is natural, in play and book reviews and in occasional essays in the liberal and red journals such as the English *Left Review*, in the American *Nation*, *New Republic*, *New Theatre*, *New Masses* and especially in the *Partisan Review* which is devoted exclusively to furthering leftist literature. Certain books devoted to the exposition of the Communist viewpoint in literature may be mentioned. Joshua Runitz's work *Russian Literature and the Jew* was a pioneer in its field. Granville Hicks' brilliant analysis of American literature since the Civil War, *The Great Tradition* represents the growth of democratic sentiment as the most vital element in our literature. *The Destructive Element* by the English poet, Stephen Spender, is mainly a study from the revolutionary viewpoint of the limitations of Henry James, T. S. Eliot and others. Another English poet, Cecil Day-Lewis, has written a few papers on the problems of revolutionary

literature which are published in this country with his *Collected Poems* and *A Time to Dance*. Finally we have two volumes by Upton Sinclair. Genuine curiosities of literature are his crotchety, garrulous and egoistical *Mammonart*, an essay on the iniquities of capitalist patronage of the arts through the ages, and his *Money Writes!* an uncomplimentary picture of American authors who keep out of labor troubles.

In conclusion it is worth noticing that literary criticism receives the serious attention of Moscow. Besides the volumes in Scribner's *New Social Library* in which high Soviet officials note the achievements of arts and letters in the Union, there is a monthly *International Literature*, published in four languages, Russian, French, German and English, by the Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Worker in the U. S. S. R., which reprints notable pieces from Red literary periodicals all over the world, and carries editorial discussions of literary theory and practice. There is in New York a "Critics Group" which translates critical monographs by foreign writers. The group has already published the pamphlets *Cervantes* by Novitsky, *Shakespeare* by Smirnov, *Art and Social Life* by Plekhanov, and announces studies of Goethe, Tolstoy, Balzac, Proust, and Whitman as in preparation.

Communist Drama in America, 1926-1936

BEFORE 1926 Revolutionary Drama in America was alien and unorganized. It was an imported article which came in with emigrants from Poland, Russia and the former Austrian Empire. In these countries, and to a lesser extent in Germany and France, a theatre had grown up, which served to propagate the Marxist ideology. When transplanted to this country the proletarian drama continued to present in Yiddish, Czech, Polish, and other tongues the melodrama, romance, and social conflicts of the European proletariat.

In 1926 *The Workers' Drama League* was organized in New York with the object of presenting plays which would deal with phases of the class struggle as it actually affected the American worker. During the two years of its existence the league presented original plays and adaptations of European works. Their most successful production was *The Biggest Boob in the World*, a German revolu-

tionary satire translated by Upton Sinclair and adapted by Michael Gold.

In 1927 a group of young playwrights who for various reasons had withdrawn from *The Workers' Drama League* set up the rival *New Playwrights Theatre*. This group was financed by an endowment of \$100,000 from the international banker, Otto Kahn. It produced Upton Sinclair's *Singing Jailbirds*, a dramatization of an incident in the I. W. W. agitation; J. H. Lawson's *The International*, an attack on American commercial imperialism; and Michael Gold's *Hoboken Blues*, a plea for sympathy with the Negro laborer.

In 1930 two other groups which for a few seasons had been associated with radical labor organizations began to attract attention in New York. One of these was the German-speaking *Prolet-Buehne*, which presented simple situations illustrating some phases of industrial or racial oppression. The technique of this company was orig-

inal and very effective. The characters represented were types easily recognized from the cartoons in the press. The few lines put into their mouths revealed the mere essentials of the situation, but the emotional value of the implicit conflict was exploited to the fullest degree by shouted mass recitation and by something like interpretative dancing. These productions, requiring no stage nor scenery, were given in the streets and at labor meetings. The most popular of them, "Scottsboro," a protest against the well-known conviction of certain Negro youths by a Southern court, is said to have been presented at least 500 times.

At about the same time as the *Prolet-Buehne*, another group, *The Workers' Laboratory Theatre*, composed largely of people who had been associated with *The Workers' Drama League*, adopted a technique similar to that of the *Prolet-Buehne*. The plays of this group were in English, and had

the same crude directness of appeal as was found in the German pieces. They were somewhat more dramatic, in the conventional sense, inasmuch as they lacked the rhythmic chant and gesture of the *Prolet-Buehne* and substituted action for simple situation. More significant still, *The Workers' Laboratory Theatre* adopted a policy of organizing the radical theatre movement on a nation-wide scale. It began to send dramatic organizers to interested groups in the New York area and entered into communication with the proletarian dramatic clubs in Boston, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

In 1931 *The Workers' Laboratory Theatre* and *Prolet-Buehne* joined forces in editing a monthly magazine, *The Workers' Theatre*. During the first year of its existence this publication, an unattractive mimeographed pamphlet, rose to a circulation of 1,000. By September, 1933, it was transformed into *The New Theatre*, a regularly printed and illustrated magazine with a circulation of 2,000. At present it is said to have a run of nearly 20,000 copies. It has a subsidiary organ, the quarterly *Theatre Workshop*, which first appeared in October, 1936, with searching and scholarly studies of dramatic theory and practice. The editors announce a further reorganization of this periodical, to be known hereafter as *New Theatre and Film*.

In 1932 *The Workers' Theatre* magazine had attracted enough notice to enable its sponsors to establish *The League of Workers' Theatres*. This league is the American affiliate of the *International Workers' Dramatic Union* and has stimulated the formation and activity of radical theatre groups all over the country, of which there are now nearly 500. Besides its organizational activity, the new league has promoted study and creative work

in all the arts connected with the theatre. This has been done by printing articles on the technique of writing, on producing and acting plays and motion pictures, by conducting schools in which this technique is taught, and by holding national "festivals" in which groups from all sections of the country compete with exhibitions of acting, dancing, and music.

Since the formation of *The League of Workers' Theatres* in 1932, the progress of the movement has been startling. The comrades were hailed as the saviors of the American drama by Mrs. Hallie Flanagan in enthusiastic articles in *Theatre Arts Monthly* and in *The Landmark*, the organ of the Tory "English Speaking Union." Mrs. Flanagan furthered the work by producing at Vassar a dramatization of a story in the *New Masses* called *Can You Hear Their Voices?* This play was produced in half a dozen languages all over the world as affording proof that even in America capitalism was doomed. It won for Mrs. Flanagan an ovation when she visited Russia and possibly had something to do with her appointment as head of the Federal Actors' Relief Program. This branch of our government certainly has been propitious to the leftist theatre, numbering among its productions *Injunction Granted* and Sinclair Lewis' *It Can't Happen Here*.

However, it is on Broadway that the Reds have enjoyed their most conspicuous triumphs. Taking advantage of the empty theatres and the large numbers of actors who had been left unemployed by the depression, the league has sponsored 1931, a play of unemployment. Elmer Rice's *We the People*, Wexley's *They Shall Not Die*, Lawson's *Gentle Women*, Clifford Odets' *Waiting for Lefty* and *Paradise Lost*, Saxe's *Newsboy*, Shaw's *Bury*

the Dead; also *Peace on Earth*, by Sklar and Maltz, and *Stevedore*, by Sklar and Peters.

The financial success of all these ventures has been assured by skillful organization. This takes the form of effective publicity in the leftist journals and even in the bourgeois press, but the special feature is a system of organized audiences. This system secures constant attendance during a long run by inducing radical labor unions and leftist organizations of all kinds to sponsor performances on given dates. At the present writing, for example, *The New Masses* is reserving blocks of seats for *It Can't Happen Here*.

Some advantages accruing to this system may be noted. It has been found that actors were willing to play in Communist productions for a lower salary than they might have obtained at capitalist theatres, because of their assurance that the play would have a long run. Secondly, the friendly enthusiasm of the labor audience and its sympathy with the players who were voicing their aspirations behind the footlights has given the casts a sense of power and satisfaction which to the artist is perhaps more precious than money. Finally, the assumption that a play which holds the boards on Broadway must be good theatre has had its effect on the most skeptical critics. Those who five years ago went to the first propagandist plays expecting to be bored, now look forward to a Communist first night predisposed to find "power," "artistic integrity," and "daring technical innovation."

For a fuller survey of the subject see *The Awakening of the American Theatre*, by Ben Blake, and articles by B. A. Howe in *The National Republic* for January and February, 1936.

A Communist Playwright's Manifesto

By ERNEST TOLLER

[Condensed from an article in the *New York Times* of January 24, 1937]

IT MUST be made clear that every real drama and every real comedy of artistic value has in its inner core the germs of rebellion. The spirit of freedom and justice live in it. There has never been a great poet who has not spoken for the people and for the oppressed and who has not stood for the power of the spirit as against the power of force.

One of the great purposes of art is to purge the passions, to strengthen

the will, to broaden the vision, and to deepen the sense of right and wrong, of true and untrue, of social and anti-social.

The theatre has also an important political function. The middle-class theatre is in fact very often a powerful political instrument, though it pretends to be non-political. When the middle class was in the ascendant, its theatre was revolutionary. In the "Marriage of Figaro," in the dramas of the young

Schiller, in the "Dumb Women of Portici," one sees the revolutionary spirit of the young, rising middle class attacking the privileges of the aristocracy and of the feudal overlords.

By the time the middle class had itself seized power and was satisfied, the drama no longer questioned the fundamental structure of society. The basic social relations were treated as eternal, sacrosanct, and immutable. Only the conflicts and passions of indi-

viduals, of the sexes and of cliques, were dramatized; only the symptoms were dealt with, and the fundamental issues of society remained untouched.

When this happens, the audience is led to believe that social functions are static, fate eternal.

Quite certainly the conflicts within society are not eternal. When we understand the inner strength and function of society we recognize at once that numberless tragedies which today condemn to death thousands of men can be averted tomorrow, simply because the social system has changed.

Neither are moral conflicts and problems eternal. There are only a few universal moral laws. The rest depend upon the interpretation which the ruling class gives to them and which was forced upon the people.

A higher conception is imperative. Despite the law of strict objectivism which creates forms from their own necessity, the creative artist must be aware that he reaches out to a subjectivism which is valid for society. He does not reduce values and ideas to a dead level. He separates higher values from less worthy ones, gives preference to higher rather than lower values.

There are indeed timeless elements in art, the formation of man's relation with the cosmos, with the whole, with death. This relation is timeless. Always there is consciousness of that last-of-all which Angelus Silesius

called the "Unio mystica," the union with the whole.

The great and pure form is eternal. But just as a sound must come within a certain range of pitch for the human ear to hear it, so must a work of art be within a certain range, in order for its own times to apprehend it.

Every group drama, every historical drama is political. It would be most interesting to examine the great plays of Shakespeare with regard to their political content and their sociological character. To investigate how far the tendencies traceable therein are dependent upon the feudal outlook of that particular age.

The objection to the political drama rests upon a misunderstanding. There is a confusion between political literature and political propaganda which employs literary methods.

Propaganda is directed exclusively toward aims of the moment, and has its justification. Propaganda is both more and less than art. More, because in its highest extent it impels the listener to immediate action.

It is less than art because it never reaches the depths which art reaches, can never mediate between the listener and the tragedy which is the basis of life and art. In other words: if ten problems are given dramatic treatment, propaganda displays the ten in such a way that they are all solvable, and propaganda is right in demanding a solution of all ten.

To make it still clearer, let us take

a concrete example: At one time in Germany plays were produced which dealt with the reformatory schools, alleging inhuman treatment and demanding the complete overhaul of a bad system. These accusations were taken up by the press and were also discussed in Parliament.

One should not disdain such plays. They are very useful. You have the same plays on Broadway. Their successes too can be very useful. But for all that they are not literature. Real literature, again to take an example, would, in giving dramatic treatment to our ten problems embody the solution of nine and show the tragic insolubility of the tenth.

I do not believe in the effect of the drama that only reaches the intellect. The didactic play may have its use for convinced partisans. The drama must touch the emotion; if you do not reach the heart of a man, he will not be moved. If he is really moved, however, then out of the emotion there will develop an intellectual conclusion, which is anchored more strongly because it emanates from emotion.

The dramatist should not say too much directly, and he should not say everything. That is a psychological principle which the dramatist should also adhere to. The dramatist should think of the tendency of the man, who wants to find the final conclusion himself. This finding of the last conclusion is the creative activity and co-operation of the public.

Communist Cinema in America

IT WILL be no news to readers of *INFORMATIONES ET NOTITIAE* that scores of Communist propaganda films are shown every day in this country. Some facts concerning the production and distribution of these films are here given.

Lenin had said, "Of all the arts, the most important to us is the cinema." This dogma of the master was made practical in 1920 by the establishment in Russia of the Cinema Bureau of the *International Union of the Revolutionary Theatre*. The platform of this bureau, as printed in the *National Republic* for February, 1936, is as follows:

Aiming to concentrate and unite the forces of film workers, professional and amateur, as well as audiences in the various countries upon a general platform, using the film as a means for revolutionary education and mobilization of the toiling masses in the strug-

gle against Fascism, political reaction, threatening imperialist wars, and for the defense of the Soviet Union, the Cinema Bureau sets itself the following tasks:

1. To unite the creative and technical workers of the film industry, professionals and amateurs, with the aim of forming film organizations in different countries on an international scale.

2. To establish audience organizations to be connected with the cinema organizations.

3. To create a united front of revolutionary film art, cultural, educational, trade-union, and professional organizations.

4. To gather all experiences for the purpose of creating revolutionary professional and amateur films in various countries:

(a) To organize special brigades in the International Union in order

to create and develop the production of 16-mm films.

(b) To organize special shows and contests on amateur 16-mm films.

(c) To organize technical and artistic consultations on the production of 16-mm films to popularize them and establish international as well as national film exchanges, for both 16-mm films and apparatus.

(d) To organize research and control committees for the purpose of studying the problems of foreign film subjects in the Soviet Union.

(e) To issue a bulletin as a review of international film problems and the discussion of technical and ideological problems.

5. To struggle against all war, chauvinistic, pacifist, and other reactionary

films, as well as the bourgeois censorship by:

- (a) Satirical criticisms of bourgeois films after special showings of these, with accompanying discussions and explanations.
- (b) By organizing criticisms and exposures in the press.
- (c) Organizing mass protest demonstrations and rallying audiences in protest against reactionary films.

In August, 1933, in the American Communist magazine, *Workers Theatre* (now called *New Theatre*), appeared an appeal from the Organization Committee for a "National Film and Photo League." "We call upon you to join with us in organizing movies and camera clubs, film forums, better film groups in cities and towns all over the United States, for the purpose of exposing and combating the capitalist film industry."

Presently this association was organized and since then it has been working under the name "The Workers Film and Photo League" (116 Lexington Avenue, near 29th Street, New York City).

The activity of this league has developed very rapidly. It has already opened the photo section and film section in *The Film School of the League*; there are courses in theory, technique, and production. The Estonian Workers Home (27 W. 115th Street, N. Y. C.), under the auspices of Workers Film and Photo League, in October, 1933, was presenting private film showing of a new Soviet film; admission was by membership card only. Starting November 18, 1933, at the New School for Social Research (50 W. 12th Street, N. Y. C.), a series of film showings opened with a Soviet film, *Spring*, never before shown in America.

In the same year, 1933, this *Film and Photo League* was affiliated to the nationwide *League of Workers' Theatres*, the American branch of the *International Union of the Revolu-*

tionary Theatre. The strength that lies in unity was soon apparent in the number of Communist film advertisements in the local press and the quantity of such films began multiplying. The above-named organizations took every opportunity to show films at workers' picnics, meetings, in clubs, and even in private homes before local gatherings.

Later these organizations came into contact with theatres and offered the Communist propaganda films at special prices—sometimes without any charge.

The following New York theatres, it is said, are among the many which present pictures with Communist propaganda: Embassy Newsreel Theatre, 1560 Broadway; Fifth Avenue Theatre, Fourteenth Street and Broadway; Ace Theatre, Fourteenth Street and Union Square; Cameo Theatre, Broadway and Forty-second Street; Europe, 154 West Fifty-fifth Street; City Theatre, Fourteenth Street and Irving Place; Empire Theatre, Broadway and Fortieth Street. Frequently in these theatres, along with moving pictures, it is alleged, a special propaganda lecture by appointed Communist agitators is conducted.

It would be superfluous to extend the list to all the other cities in the country. One example has a peculiar piquancy. In Washington, immediately after the recognition of Russia, a theatre situated on Lafayette Square which faces the White House, was reopened and has since shown Soviet films with great frequency.

Meantime the effort to produce American films presenting the Marxist ideology has had some success, although the competition of capitalist Hollywood has naturally prohibited the comrades from attracting the attention of any great section of the public. However, the filming of short pieces by amateur companies and the preparation of "documentary" newsreels (something on the style of *The March of Time*) has been a regular activity of

the *National Film and Photo League*. Two of the most promising of the radical playwrights, Clifford ("Waiting for Lefty") Odets and Irwin ("Bury the Dead") Shaw, are employed as scenario writers by capitalist studios in Hollywood. There is also in Hollywood a professional company employed in producing agitational films under the name of *American Labor Films, Inc.* The first production of this group was *Millions of Us*. We quote a review of this film appearing in the *New Masses* on October 6, 1936: "In two reels it tells the story of an unemployed young man who is prevented from becoming a scab by a union organizer. From a mechanical point of view the film has the best Hollywood can offer. The main defects lie in the direction and the scenario. But those are minor faults at this time . . . for it states its message clearly, simply, and with eloquence. The film contains the famous quotation from Lincoln on the revolutionary right of Americans to overthrow the government when it no longer serves them. It is a film that deserves the fullest support. Only audience response will insure the continuance of such films. The management early this week, however, apparently in response to pressure from enemies of labor, decided to cut this picture from the program. But the hisses that the silk-stocking crowd gave Lincoln in the first few days were nothing to the applause of the later audiences. Insistent demands from potential audiences should be able to put it back on view."

A simple public is thus made to support propaganda designed to overturn our present civilization,—a procedure which from the standpoint of Moscow is certainly a realization of the Horatian ideal "*qui miscuit utile dulci*." It is, as a columnist would say, like asking a man to pay to attend his own funeral or to supply the ammunition at a blind date with the firing squad.

(Series to be continued.)

Editorial Comment

The thoroughness and wide distribution of Communist endeavors in the field of propaganda-by-acting lends particular significance to the influence of the stage

and cinema. The Catholic counter-attack is described in the announcement of the First Catholic Theatre Conference—on the next page.

First National Catholic Theatre Conference

LOYOLA COMMUNITY THEATRE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, JUNE 15 AND 16, 1937
UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF HIS EMINENCE GEORGE CARDINAL MUNDELEIN,
ARCHBISHOP OF CHICAGO

A general invitation to participate is extended to all Catholic institutions and to all Catholic Theatre groups: the parish theatres, the college theatres, the workers' theatres. To all others who cherish the Catholic tradition in the theatres, whether Catholics themselves or not, the same invitation is also extended.

PLAN AND PURPOSE

Mr. Emmet Lavery, who initiated this movement, clearly defines its purpose in his article in *America* on March 6, 1937. "The conference is an open conference in every sense of the word. . . . Our plans are simple but adequate. No complex organization is contemplated. No interference with parish, college and workers' theatres is proposed. No endowment is sought and no funds are solicited. But we do hope to inventory our mutual interests and experiences to the greater advantage of the common good. We hope to find, perhaps, in each single theatre group that Catholic Theatre for which so many of us once looked on Broadway. We seek simply a unity of effort which should in time produce a theatre with a culture as definite as that of the Yiddish Art Theatre, and a variety as extensive as that of the Federal Theatre. We aspire neither to undermine nor to overthrow the legitimate theatre. We aim merely to give new life and purpose to what should be one of the most vigorous tributary streams of the great world of the theatre."

For further explanation read Mr. Lavery's articles in *America*, December 5, 1936, and March 6, 1937.

ARRANGEMENTS

Inspired by the above articles, the Board of Directors of the Loyola Community Theatre offered to sponsor the meeting, put their theatre and staff at the disposal of the conference, and assume the initial expense of contacting every parish, college and workers' little theatre group in the country. This announcement is the first step in that direction.

As hosts for those attending the conference the Board of Directors will have committees in charge of all local arrangements, such as reservations at hotels or institutions, and other information and accommodations. Persons

planning to attend should send their announcements to the Loyola Community Theatre, 6559 Glenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, as soon as possible. A circular giving detailed information and directions will be mailed to them.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The following leading spirits in the Catholic Theatre movement have agreed to act on the Advisory Committee in response to Mr. Lavery's invitation and to take a leading part in the conference:

Emmet Lavery, *Chairman*
Rev. Daniel A. Lord, S.J.
R. Dana Skinner
Charles S. Costello
Rev. Urban Nagel, O.P.
Katharine Bregy
Pedro de Cordoba
Helen C. White
Grenville Vernon
Ward Clark
Rev. F. G. Dinneen, S.J.
Mary Benjamin
Johanna Doniat
Sister Mary Peter
William Callahan
Rev. James J. Mertz, S.J.
Mary F. Kiely
Sister Mary Donatus, C.I.M.
Sister M. Flaget
Rev. F. X. Downey, S.J.
Rev. Matthias Helfen
Rev. John McLarny, O.P.
Sister Mary Josephine
Rev. Terrence Connolly, S.J.
Mrs. J. V. Fuller
Belle M. Mullins
Rev. A. J. Kuhlman, S.J.
Rev. Edward Carrigan, S.J.
Mrs. Christopher Wyatt
Rev. T. J. Coughlin, S.J.
Rev. F. X. Talbot, S.J.
Una O'Connor
Dr. William Lamers
Mary Agnes Doyle
Norman J. Griffin
Joseph Rice

Melita Skillen
Walter F. Kerr
Sister Mary Leola, B.V.M.
Rev. Edward Roberts Moore
Rev. Edward F. Leonard
Sterns Cunningham
Rev. Arthur Spearman, S.J.
Rev. John H. Mahoney, D.D.
Rev. Paul Speckbaugh, C.P.P.S.
Rev. George Stemm
Rev. I. J. Semper
Rev. Ferdinand Schoberg, S. J.
Madeline Glynn
Cecilia Mary Young
Rev. Peter Moran, C.S.P.
Rev. John F. Quinn, S.J.
J. Leo Sullivan

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

It is of the utmost importance to have a program for the conference that will produce the most practical and constructive result and establish the right kind of a permanent organization. The members of the program committee are diligently planning for this. The following has been tentatively suggested for the first day:

1. An introductory talk on the purposes of the meeting.
2. A keynote talk on the possibilities of the Catholic Theatre.
3. A brief check-up on what is being done by the groups represented.

After that it is planned to hear briefly and concisely from the members of the Advisory Committee who have volunteered to discuss the essential phases of dramatic activity and influence. Then to set up the following committees: (1) On play writing, (2) on play selection, (3) on drawing up of Catholic lists, (4) on play production, (5) on permanent organization and promotion of the movement in different regions.

After hearing the reports of these and other possible committees, the program will be sufficiently elastic to bring

in other considerations, such as radio, films, and so forth, if so desired. Group conferences will be arranged for different sections interested in various phases of little theatre activities and play production. It has been strongly urged that the reading of long formal papers be discouraged.

The program for the second day will naturally be shaped up by the ac-

tivities of the first day and the reports of the various committees.

The prospects are that the evening sessions will be given over to short demonstrations along dramatic and entertainment lines. Groups will be selected with a view to showing the wide diversity of talent and possibilities in our institutions, parishes and dramatic organizations.

An important feature will be an exhibit of plays from Catholic sources or particularly suited for production. An important object of the conference is to encourage the writing of plays. Playwrights are invited to contribute to the exhibit. It is hoped that a bureau of information and play service along with an anthology of Catholic plays may result.

A Recent Official Communist Manifesto

"ONWARD IN BUILDING THE PARTY"

In the "Sunday Worker," February 21, 1937, the leaders of American Communism reveal their program for the future. A valuable feature of this official pronouncement is the footnote giving a complete roster of the districts into which Communism has divided the United States for administrative and propaganda purposes.

FULFILL THE REGISTRATION 100 PER CENT

"Comrades: The decision of the Ninth National Convention to reorganize the Party to best fit the new tasks, is today an accomplished fact. *The Party is stronger today than at any time before. We succeeded in building a solid foundation for a real mass Party which is already taking on such character in some of the largest districts where recruiting has become an integral part of our daily tasks.*

Through the reorganization we stabilized the Party structure, its basic organs. We have introduced a new monthly dues scale, reduced the dues, a new system of meetings. The Party has created the possibilities for thousands of comrades outside our ranks to become full-fledged members. *The decision of the Ninth National Convention must be made known to the thousands of sympathizers. Recruiting must go on.*

In the process of reorganization, especially in New York and in other large cities, hundreds of Party members lost connection with their units and even with their sections. We cannot allow these hundreds of Party members, these good fighters, to be lost. *All Party members must make their personal task to see that all the members that they recruited in the past are registered. All functionaries, all active Party members shall do their utmost to bring the registration to a close without the loss of a single member.*

To the comrades who lost contact with their units:

We appeal to you through the means of the Daily Worker and Sunday Worker to register by mail, or by go-

ing directly to the nearest Party offices. We are giving you below the addresses of our district offices for this purpose.

In some districts the registration is already completed. While we appeal to the whole Party to speed up the registration and bring it to a completion, we emphasize, at the same time, the necessity of continuing the registration even after the figures have been sent to the Center, because there will still remain hundreds of Party members not registered, who for one reason or another could not comply with the time limit set, or could not be reached.

More than that, we must register even those members who, because of their condition of work, illness, and other similar reasons, dropped out during the year. *We shall try to get these comrades back into activity, and reinstate them with their old status.*

Forward to get back into our ranks, into activity, every comrade who joined our Party since January 1st, 1936. *Onward in intensifying recruiting as a daily task!* In connection with all our activities, and especially our activities in the trade union field, in the unemployed field, in the campaign around the legislative program, in the campaign to support the People's Front in Spain, in the campaign for the building of a Farmer-Labor Party.

Central Committee, Communist Party, U. S. A.

WM. Z. FOSTER, Chairman,
EARL BROWDER, Secretary.

DISTRICTS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Boston, Mass.—P. O. Box 23 Essex Sta.
New York City—35 E. 12th St.
Philadelphia, Pa.—62 North 8th St.

Kansas City, Mo.—P. O. Box 4723 Sta. E.
Pittsburgh, Pa.—929 5th Ave.
Cleveland, Ohio—1524 Prospect Ave.
Detroit, Mich.—5969 14th St.
Chicago, Ill.—208 N. Wells St.
Minneapolis, Minn.—321 Hennepin Ave.
Omaha, Neb.—311 Karbach Block.
Grand Forks, N. D.—P. O. Box 252.
Seattle, Wash.—P. O. Box 332.
San Francisco, Cal.—121 Haight St.
Newark, N. J.—206 Market St.
New Haven, Conn.—32 Centre St.
Greensboro, N. C.—P. O. Box 521.
Birmingham, Ala.—P. O. Box 1813.
Milwaukee, Wis.—113 East Wells St.
Denver, Colo.—P. O. Box 2823.
Houston, Texas—P. O. Box 1834.
St. Louis, Mo.—506 N. Vandeventer St.
Charleston, W. Va.—P. O. Box 92.
Louisville, Ky.—P. O. Box 1043.
New Orleans, La.—P. O. Box 465.
Jacksonville, Fla.—P. O. Box N. West Bay Annex.
Sioux Falls, S. D.—P. O. Box 532.
Ironwood, Mich.—P. O. Box 496.
Indianapolis, Ind.—143 E. Ohio St.
Richmond, Va.—P. O. Box 132.
Butte, Mont.—P. O. Box 33.
Oklahoma City, Okla.—P. O. Box 245.
Des Moines, Ia.—222 Youngermann Bldg.
Chattanooga, Tenn.—P. O. Box 81.
Fort Smith, Ark.—P. O. Box 493.
Baltimore, Md.—501 B. North Eutaw.
Providence, R. I.—335 Westminster St.
Wilkes-Barre, Pa.—356 Simon Long Bldg.
Akron, Ohio—63 E. Exchange St.
Canton, Ohio—614 Tuscarawas St.
Cincinnati, Ohio—540 Main St.
Columbus, Ohio—1500 Pennsylvania Ave.
Youngstown, Ohio—310 W. Federal.
Toledo, Ohio—214 Michigan St.
Los Angeles, Calif.—224 So. Spring St.
Section 9—10 Little Maine St., Hempstead, L. I. (Nassau and Suffolk County).
Section 12—45 Warburton Ave., Yonkers, N. Y.
Section 19—47 State St., West Brighton, Staten Island.
Schenectady—527 State St., N. Y.
Newburgh—P. O. Box 683, Burton.
Buffalo—75½ Chippewa St., Buffalo.

COMMUNISM IS TWENTIETH CENTURY
AMERICANISM"

The Communist Situation In California

The High Staff of Communism in the United States has long regarded California as a particularly inviting field for subversive activities. The accompanying report is an exhaustive survey of the methods employed in that state and may well serve as a specimen of Communist organization at its best. Similar activities are carried on in every important center of the country. This report was prepared for the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the California State Peace Officers' Association held at Santa Monica, California, October 16, 1936. The information was gathered and arranged by the Intelligence Bureau of the Los Angeles Police Department.

THE DANGER OF INDIFFERENCE

To those whose responsibility it is to maintain law and order, there comes a time when they must give solemn thought to those inhabitants of the country, whose transgressions surpass mere law infringement and are built up of multitudinous onslaughts against the very foundations of our government. We refer to the revolutionists in our midst—the Communists—who are enjoying the liberties, the privileges and the advantages of this country. These people, while accepting all that we have to offer, at the same time, regard us with sovereign contempt. They know that in their "Fatherland," Soviet Russia, any agitators engaged in activities calculated to bring about the overthrow of the Communist government, would be liquidated without ceremony or delay. Therefore, America's good natured unconcern over the steady, telling blows being directed against our government's framework, by the Communists, excites their contempt for a country too apathetic or too impassive to raise its hand to stay the incursion. And justifiably so! It is indeed, a deplorable situation when the people of a nation as superior, as advanced, and as enlightened as ours, will sit supinely by and smile indulgently while the Communists continue hammering at the basic structure of the government. Peace officers would be guilty of dereliction of duty should they fail, while considering law enforcement, to take up the serious deliberation of this question.

Not so many years ago, America was a peaceful, comfortable nation, built solidly upon a government dedicated to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Then a giant octopus was imported—the enormous, hungry creature we know as the Communist Party, imported to these peaceful shores by foreign agents of the world's mightiest revolutionary machine. Immediately, the slimy tentacles of the Communist octopus began slipping along the veins of American life, gripping and strangling wherever they touched. The insatiable appetite of the creature is still unsatisfied, even though its tentacles

have entwined themselves about every phase of American life, and it will not be satisfied until the revered and beloved traditions of America have been crushed, and the Communist star flies from every masthead in the nation.

We see and must acknowledge the powerful stranglehold this monster has upon the nation, but before the kill—before it is forever too late, we must devise a means of staying its further progress.

A few years ago, the importers of this foreign doctrine—Communism, were practically its sole supporters. Then they gathered about themselves other foreign malcontents and those beholding the Communist activities in this country, believed that the invasion was foreign in character and held no threat as a national menace. But this proved to be an erroneous idea and led to a sense of false security, for soon others became interested in the enticing pictures offered of a golden land, wherein the Communists promised that those who had worked and through thrift and good management, had built up a comfortable financial security for themselves, would be robbed of their savings, which would in turn be distributed amongst those who do not wish to, and will not work themselves.

DIVISION OF TERRITORY

A careful survey of America and of Americans' tastes, enabled the Communists to map an intelligent campaign for penetration of every phase of industrial and cultural life and of national defense. The Communist crusade carries agitation, propaganda and organization into the armed forces of the nation, into every branch of industry and commerce, into the public educational institutions, into the political field, into the groups of unemployed and those on relief, into the field of entertainment and sports and into the cultural life of the country.

Before we turn to a review of these activities, however, as having affected us in California, we should quickly and briefly describe the structural nature of the Communist Party, its subsidiaries and their methods of operation. A knowledge of the character of the

vast structure and that of its affiliated organizations and a glimpse of the cleverness, the trickery and the subtleties practised, will abolish any consternation we might have felt in reviewing the dangerous inroads already made.

For efficiency in agitational and organizational operation, the Communist Party has divided the United States into thirty-one districts,* of which California is designed as District 13. Since we are to concentrate our attention on the state of California, we will confine ourselves to a description of this territory only.

District 13 has been divided into working sections known as counties, of which there are twenty-two. They are:

1. San Francisco
2. East Bay
3. Sacramento
4. San Diego
5. Contra Costa
6. Sonoma
7. Eureka
8. Merced
9. Los Angeles
10. Bakersfield
11. Santa Barbara
12. San Bernardino
13. Santa Clara
14. San Mateo
15. Fort Bragg
16. Stockton
17. Fresno
18. Tulare
19. Merced
20. Nevada
21. Arizona
22. Monterey

These counties were formerly designated as Sections, but in order to more nearly follow the divisions established for political purposes, the Communist Party altered its boundary lines for counties, sections and units. Simultaneously with the change of Sections to Counties, the former sub-sections were changed to Sections and the Units' boundary lines were rearranged along Assembly District lines, or were made to include a specified number of precincts.

We will use Los Angeles County as

* NOTE: Over 40 are now included in the most recent list on page 9.

in example. There are at present thirteen Sections in this county. The major industry located in the territory of each Section constitutes the concentration point for Communist agitation and organization in that particular section. The sections are as follows:

1. **Bay Cities** (Venice, Ocean Park, Santa Monica, West Los Angeles.)
2. **Belvedere** (Belvedere Gardens and surrounding communities.)
3. **Boyle Heights** (Los Angeles River east to Indiana Street; North Alhambra; north to Brooklyn Ave.)
4. **Centinela Valley** (Inglewood, Hawthorne, Gardena, Redondo.)
5. **Downtown** (Pico St. to Temple St. from Los Angeles River west to Alvarado St.)
6. **Firestone-Manchester** (Graham, Compton, Watts, Maywood, Bell, etc.)
7. **Goodyear** (Southern section of Los Angeles.)
8. **Harbor** (Harbor City, Wilmington, San Pedro, Long Beach, etc.)
9. **Hollywood** (West Adams, Wilshire, Hollywood.)
10. **Orange** (Orange County, Santa Ana, etc.)
11. **Pasadena** (North from Alhambra Ave., Cities of Pasadena, South Pasadena, Alhambra, San Gabriel, Sierra Madre, etc.)
12. **San Fernando** (Van Nuys, North Hollywood, Canoga Park, San Fernando, Glendale, Burbank.)
13. **Southern Pacific** (Northeastern territory of Los Angeles.)

For elucidation:

Bay Cities Section is charged with the responsibility of carrying Communism into the aircraft plant and a Pacific Electric Unit is attached to this section for organizational purposes.

Firestone-Manchester Section, concentrating on steel and auto assembly.

Belvedere Section has for its concentration, the great rubber plants engaged in the production of tires, etc.

Boyle Heights Section center their activities upon the attaches of the County General Hospital which is located in this territory. There are also large numbers of Negroes and Mexicans living in Boyle Heights, and the Party members stand instructed to recruit these people into the Party.

Goodyear Section; basic concentration on rubber industry, and with Negro masses.

Centinela Valley, too, has aircraft concentration as its major assignment. Agriculture is the second point of concentration.

Downtown Section now comprises several street units, professional groups, several needle trades shop units, and the building trades unit, so it may be seen that their activity is concerned with Communist activity in their respective industries or professions.

Harbor Section has four important assignments—penetration of the marine industry, activity amongst the fishermen and in the canneries, and penetration of the oil production industry.

Hollywood Section applies itself to infiltration into the moving picture industry. The situation in Hollywood is unique, in that it not only has Shop Units composed of workmen in the studios, but also has Special Units composed of high officials, writers and actors.

Orange County Section specializes on agriculture.

Pasadena Section has for its major concentration, the Pacific Electric Railway system. Owing to the absence of large industrial plants in that section, considerable attention is directed to the organization of the unemployed.

San Fernando Section has wide agricultural fields in which to carry on Communist activity. Dairies, and aircraft industry are also included in its responsibility.

Southern Pacific Section concentrates on the Southern Pacific Railroad yards.

We will now consider the units, which are the smallest organization groups in the Party. They are the basic groups and most assignments for carrying on Party work are made there.

DIVISION OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

The fundamental duty of every Communist Party street unit is to carry on Communist activity in its particular neighborhood, and to organize Shop Units in the shops and factories located in its territory. Industrial Units are organized by the County Committee, by grouping into one unit all of the Party members employed in a given industry. For instance, the Building Trades Industrial Unit is composed of members employed as plumbers, carpenters, painters, lathers, etc.

In Los Angeles, the Communists have organized approximately 130 street units, with a membership in each unit ranging from 15 to 25 persons. Some 18 shop units are functioning in various factories and industrial plants—and five industrial units.

Industrial unrest in many of the large factories and shops can be traced directly to the agitation carried

on in them by members of the Shop Units. We have had cases of trouble thus incited in the upholstering industry, in the furniture manufacturing industry, in the needle trades industry, in the marine industry, etc.

Membership in the Communist Party involves activity in all of its campaigns and activities. Sluggards are not tolerated. Therefore, after a new member has completed his "Beginners' Class," a compulsory six weeks' course, he is given his assignment. This may either be assignment to work in a trade union or in one of the many mass organizations. It must be understood that his mass organization activity is accomplished in addition to regular unit activity.

Here we have the opportunity to see the Communist at work, not openly as a Communist Party member, but stalking his prey disguised as an artless citizen, whose purported singleness of purpose (the betterment of the human race) immediately establishes a bond of friendship between him and his associates in the group to which he has been assigned. The solidification of these friendships often leads to recruiting the unsuspecting outsider into the Communist Party.

After having analyzed American tastes and habits, the Communist Party designed and organized mass organizations to suit every taste. A few of the most outstandingly important ones are:

1. **The International Labor Defense**, the American section of the International Red Aid, is a militant organization, carrying on struggles as well as providing legal defense and bail for those arrested for subversive activities. It also fights for the release of all "class war" prisoners, including Mooney and Billings, the Scottsboro boys and many others. Attorneys for the International Labor Defense, as well as the defendants in the cases on trial, state and maintain that they can "expect no justice in the capitalist courts." It is against the policy and contrary to the practise of the International Labor Defense to permit any such trial to proceed regularly, without interference from the outside. A common practice is to organize mass pressure on the outside and attempt to force a settlement of the trial according to their own wishes. This is accomplished by the use of floods of telegrams, telephone calls, letters and by packing the court-room with their supporters, etc.

2. **The International Workers' Order** is an organization designed to lure outsiders interested in insurance. Many persons contacted through the insur-

ance angle are later recruited into the Communist Party. Further, the International Workers' Order contributes heavily to the Communist Party and furnishes one of the most substantial sources of income.

3. **The American League Against War and Fascism** is the youngest child in a large family of mass organizations recognizing the Communist Party as its parent. The American League may rightly be regarded as a dire menace, for its popularity and appeal have grown to an alarming extent. It utilizes its anti-war phraseology as an entry wedge to gain access to all pacific organizations and churches and attempts to make them unsuspecting dupes in its part of the Communist program. The implication that the organization is anti-war may be largely responsible for its appeal to the American people, as well. The tragedy is that the public is unaware of the danger lurking in the anti-war connotation. The American League is bait, attractively coated, and its membership shows a steady increase from day to day. It has proved to be a rich recruiting ground for the Communist Party.

Of great importance to the League's activities, is its apparently "respectable" front. It denies affiliation with the Communist Party but it is a well established fact that the Party fraction makes all decisions on matters of tactic and procedure. This organization is used for applying for permits for so-called "peace parades," where the Communist Party knows that to use its own name in the petition, would cause undesirable results.

We have on record, many cases in which ministers and others holding respectable positions, have aligned themselves with these wolves in sheep's clothing. So utterly convincing are the dissemblers, that the ministers and other professional people, have been known to use all of their own influence and that of their organization or church, in drawing still others into the movement to force the authorities to grant parade permits.

Here again, we can see the reasons that the police departments and the sheriff's offices, feel the reverberations of a misguided and adverse public opinion. To the man in the street, it appears that the peace officers and other authorities are stubbornly balking the efforts of a respectable organization, backed by the churches, pacifist and other organizations, to hold a peace parade or street meeting demonstrations.

The "Fight against War and Fascism" has long been incorporated in the decisions handed down by the Com-

munist International to the Communist Party, U. S. A.

The recent World Congress of the Communist International, confirming the decisions of the Sixth Congress on the struggle against imperialist war, set the following main tasks before the Communist parties, revolutionary workers, toilers, peasants, and oppressed peoples of the whole world." This World Congress decreed:

"That the anti-war struggle of the masses striving to preserve peace, must be very closely combined with the struggle against fascism and the fascist movement. It is necessary to conduct not only general propaganda for peace, but primarily propaganda directed against the chief instigators of war, against the fascists and other imperialist war parties, and against concrete measures of imperialist war."

"The central slogan of the Communist parties must be the struggle for peace . . . the struggle for peace opens up before the Communist Party the greatest opportunities for creating the broadest united Front."

The Congress emphasizing that "the defense of the Soviet Union must be considered paramount." Further instructions to the Communist parties of all capitalist countries included:

"1. That the Communist parties fight against military expenditures, war budgets."

"2. For recalling of the military forces from colonies and mandated territories."

"3. Against militarization measures taken by capitalist governments, especially the militarization of youth, women and the unemployed."

"4. Against emergency decrees restricting bourgeois democratic liberties with the aim of preparation for war."

"5. Against restricting the rights of workers employed in war industry plants."

"6. Against subsidized war industry and against trade in all transporting of arms."

And these final instructions to the Communist parties of all Capitalist countries, by the Communist International, were laid down:

"The Communists, while fighting against the illusion that war can be eliminated while the capitalist system still exists, and should a new imperialist world war break out despite all efforts of the working class to prevent it, the Communists will lead the opponents of war, organized in the struggle for peace, to the struggle for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, against the fascist insti-

gators of war, against the bourgeois, for the overthrow of capitalism."

In the latter quoted pronouncements of the Communist International is revealed the sinister purpose for which all sincere advocates of peace who, aligning themselves with the camouflaged Communist "American League Against War and Fascism," will be utilized.

4. **The "Friends of the Soviet Union"** has as its activity and aim the cultivation of new friends and sympathizers for Communist Russia. It has proved to be a very important adjunct to the Communist Party, inasmuch as it served to first attract persons interested in the Russian experiment. Later, these persons remained as staunch disciples of Communism and many ultimately became members of the Party. This organization has been particularly notable for having recruited great numbers of Americans into the Party. Its program of education, offered as an enlightenment program on Russian governmental matters and achievements, is in reality an educational on Communism, its theory, aims and practices.

5. **The Workers' International Relief** devotes itself to the collection of food, clothing and funds for strikers. It immediately appears in the forefront wherever strikes occur, and is most active when these strikes are Communist-inspired.

6. **The Workers' Alliance**, formerly known as the Public Works and Unemployed Union, is the organization device for attracting and organizing the unemployed and those on W. P. A. projects, and those on direct relief. This organization has proved to be successful in organizing great numbers of Americans, many of whom subsequently joined the Communist Party. It has a record of agitation and indulgence in the use of force and violence. Relief agencies have been wrecked by committees visiting the directors of these agencies, and violence has marked the uprisings on W. P. A. projects, which followed the agitation carried on on the jobs by the members of this militant organization.

The importance of the influence of the women of today was taken into consideration by the Communist Party when it set up the **Women's Committee of the American League**. This committee was given an altruistic character by its designers. It declared itself in favor of securing civil rights for the people, where such rights appeared to be in jeopardy. This was a sly move on the part of the Communists to build up for themselves the protection of important and influential names. The Women's Committee also

investigates strikes, visits strike areas and investigates charges of mistreatment of strikers and their families.

Many of the women who have joined the Women's Committee are the wives of wealthy and influential men. Often they are originally contacted and ensnared through their sympathetic desire to give assistance to others less fortunate than themselves. Many of them enjoy great social prestige and have wide influence. They give freely, not only of their time and energy, but also of money.

The Communist Party does not for one moment lose sight of the psychological effect of having the members of the Women's Committee visit strike areas. The sight of smartly dressed women, driving expensive automobiles, visiting strike headquarters and strikers' camps, is a powerful influence. The public is immediately impressed and the strikers become more defiant, believing that they have "big shots" backing them up.

The Women's Committee, unknown to the non-Party members, is directed by the decisions made by the fraction of Communist Party members working in the committee. This fraction must, of necessity, be a carefully picked group of Communist women, chosen with regard to their appearance, their intelligence and their ability to influence other women. Women of poise and good appearance are, of course, the ideal string pullers in this marionette show where the Communist women sit aloft manipulating the strings and the wealthy, influential women are the unsuspecting puppets, avorting to the directives prescribed by the Communist Party.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG YOUTHS

One of the most devastating results of Communist activity in California is the invasion of the ranks of American youth. The danger here involved goes far deeper than appears on the surface. We all know the power that impressions received early in life have over our later lives. These young Americans, whose open minds are seeking new ideas and new truths, who have an ingrained curiosity about experiment, are the ideal field for Communist propaganda. And the young Communists are fully aware of the importance of their job of converting the young Americans to their beliefs.

Formerly, the Young Communist League was a disciplined, militant junior Communist organization. An analysis of its weaknesses by the Party, indicated that it was repellant to many young Americans because of the element of discipline. Their innate independence rebelled against submitting

to discipline. Very well, the bait should be changed! Communists are not concerned with the type of bait they use, so long as it is effective and nets the catch. So the entire character of the Communist youth apparatus was changed to a pattern more appealing to the American youth. A mass organization of a social nature was formed. Discipline was relaxed. The social element was emphasized and more attention paid to the organization of games and sports. The result was that large numbers of young people were recruited.

The Communist Party has this to say about the youth movement, in its October Organization Bulletin:

"Simultaneously with the recruiting campaign being conducted by the Party, the Y.C.L. is carrying on a recruiting campaign with the objective of doubling the Y.C.L. membership in California by January 1.

"October, 9 to 16, has been set aside as Youth Week. During this week, there will be a special broadcast by Comrade Browder, addressed to the youth. All effort must be made to have as many young people as possible hear this broadcast. Every Party member who has a radio should arrange a radio party to which he invites all his young friends for a discussion on the Browder talk, and to approach them to join the Y.C.L."

This gives us an idea of the vigor and the intensity with which all Communist drives and activities are conducted. Force accompanies every movement. If we Americans had invested a small fraction of the interest and driving force displayed by Communists, in exposing and checking Communist encroachment, we would not now be in a position where we must admit that Communism is a threat to America.

One of the most vigorous youth groups, from the point of activity and accomplishments, and under the Communist banner, is the **American Student Union** (an amalgamation of the Communist "National Student League" and the Socialist "Students League for Industrial Democracy"). There are chapters of this organization in the high schools, junior colleges and universities. The popular appeal of this organization lies in its program of fighting against war. This naturally elicits response and support from large numbers of young people. The propaganda utilized by the Young Communists in this movement is an endless chain; it implies that the "capitalist system breeds war"; that the capitalists have no consideration for the American youth other than to rear them to

be cannon fodder, and so on, ad nauseam.

The constant reiteration of a statement often causes it to be finally accepted as fact. The eventuality in this case often is that the young Americans so steadily drummed at, finally find themselves members of the Young Communist League.

Riots in schools and colleges, demonstrations on campuses, agitation against the R. O. T. C. can all be traced directly to the agitation carried on in the schools by young Communists. Disorder and discontent are the handmaidens of all Communists, whether they be young or old, men or women.

The activity of the young Communists in disseminating propaganda is not confined to educational institutions. In every walk of life these propagandists are stationed, so that wherever the American youth turns, in his social or professional pursuits, in musical and dramatic circles, in sports groups, in the Y. M. C. A. and in his business life or work shop, he will be confronted by these Communist agents.

Undoubtedly the greatest success ever achieved by the Communists in this country in their youth work was the capturing control of the **"American Youth Congress"** and the directing of this organization into revolutionary channels. Organized originally in New York City in August, 1934, under non-Communist guidance, the Communists by their strategy of raising issues were successful in bringing about the adoption of part of their program and later heralded how they had captured control.

A second national congress was held of the American Youth Congress in Detroit in July, 1935, with more than 1,200 delegates and said to embrace 835 organizations, representing 1,350,000 youth. They have adopted an appealing motto for their organization of **PEACE, FREEDOM AND PROGRESS.**

In Los Angeles, the Second Southern California Regional American Youth Congress was held (November 30-December 1, 1935) and claimed 205 delegates from 112 organizations representing about 30,000 young men and women of Southern California; they adopted a simple six-point program for their region, viz:

1. Youth cooperation with trade unions;
2. Action to maintain and regain constitutional rights;
3. Action to combat racial discrimination;
4. Action to transfer the Olympics from Nazi-Germany;
5. Support of the American Youth

Act as opposed to the inadequate National Youth Act;

6. Mobilization and mass actions for peace.

In San Francisco last year there was held a Northern California regional American Youth Congress, with a large number of organizations represented from surrounding communities.

The revolutionary youth movement in the United States has adopted our annual Decoration Day, May 30, as "United Youth Day."

During the past year, the major effort of the Communists in the youth field has been directed toward securing the enactment by Congress of "The American Youth Act," H. R. 10198, which was to

SCOPE: Provides for all youth in need: 5,000,000 unemployed, 1,000,000 homeless, several million needy students.

WAGES: a. Workers on relief projects. \$15 per week and \$3 per dependent covering graduates and undergraduates.

b. Graduate students, \$25 a month.

c. High school aid. Minimum of \$15 per month.

CONTROL: By equal representation of bona-fide youth, labor and social service or educational organizations.

FUNDS: Funds to be raised to meet needs; to be taken from Federal Treasury and, if necessary, increased taxes on large incomes and inheritance."

The Young Communist League was the driving force in popularizing this bill among the various youth organizations and among all sections of youth, and in organizing an intensive campaign in the trade unions and the working class organizations for the support of the American Youth Act.

The Y. C. L. pointed out that the bill had the support of the American Youth Congress and the American Student Union, that the National Council of Methodist Youth had already given its endorsement, and that the National Council of the Industrial Section of the Y. M. C. A. had discussed the Act favorably and placed it on its coming agenda.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG CHILDREN

Recognizing the limitations imposed upon the activities connected with organizing the children of the country, by the organizational form being used—that of grouping children into Pioneer groups, the majority of whom were Communist-children—the Communist Party decided upon drastic changes in this line of concentration, just as it did in the organizations used

for attracting the youth of more advanced age.

The policy of maintaining Pioneer groups, which because of their very nature were unattractive to American children, was abandoned entirely and the Pioneer organization dissolved. In its place, the Communists established numerous groups of auxiliaries to mass organizations, composed exclusively of children between the ages of 8 and 15.

These children's auxiliaries are known as Troops, and are given the names of well-known revolutionary leaders, such as the Mooney Troop, the Leo Gallagher Troop, the ILD Defenders, etc. The policy being pursued is to organize such a troop parallel to every mass organization, so we see them affiliated with the International Labor Defense, the International Workers' Order, the Friends of the Soviet Union, etc. While enjoying the apparent respectability of association with mass organizations, the children's troops are under the direction of the Communist Party, with leaders assigned from the Young Communist League.

The determination to design and maintain organizations which will be attractive to children, arises from an appreciation of what Nikolai Lenin said with reference to the exerting of influence over children: Lenin said, "The hopes of the revolutionary of tomorrow lies in the youth of today."

The new policy applied to the organization of the children of the country, has a dual purpose. It not only organizes the children, but the parents and other members of the families of the children involved. The Communist Party had the latter development in mind when it issued the directive for the formation of these troops, for it realized that the children would use their influence to draw their parents and other relatives into the mass organization to which the troop was attached, with entrance into the Communist Party calculated as the ultimate step to be made by the adults.

COMMUNIST EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

The Communist Party had to devise a means of reaching those Americans who could not be induced to attend mass meetings, who refused to attend open unit meetings and who demurred on the question of joining any mass organization, and those who seemed difficult to contact. The Party press was the answer. Publications to suit every taste, in both English and various foreign languages, are issued by the Party and its various subsidiaries. For those of literary inclinations, there is the "New Masses"; for the aggres-

sive and for those who enjoy vitriolic bally-hoo there are the Western Worker, the Daily Worker, the Freiheit, published in Yiddish is the Communist organ for the Jewish people; the Champion of Youth, issued by the Young Communist League, and the New Pioneer for the Communist children groups. There are numerous other publications in English, including the Imprekorr, the Communist, the young Communist, Labor Defender, Fight, Soviet Russia Today, China Today, New Theatre. The Rodo Shimbun is the Party publication printed in Japanese. El Machete appears in Spanish and has wide sale amongst the Mexicans. These are but a few of the many daily, weekly, bi-monthly and monthly publications and periodicals issued by the Communist Party and its subsidiaries and language groups. In addition to these, there are thousands of shop papers and bulletins in constant process of publication and distribution.

Distributing agencies have been set up in the larger cities of the state, directed by the Communist Party. These agencies distribute thousands upon thousands of pieces of literature daily, all over the state. This is accomplished by supplying news stands, drug stores, etc., with stocks of the various publications. The steady, unremitting growth of these distributing agencies proves the success of these enterprises. We assume, therefore, that thousands of Californians are reading these Communist publications daily.

While these silent agitators, the Party publications, are accomplishing their sinister education of the American public, the Communist Party itself is conducting schools for the purpose of educating new agitators and educators to carry on Communist work. There are all types of schools, arranged to meet the requirements of the students and to meet the immediate demands of the present. Adults and youth alike may enroll. There are part-time classes for those whose time is limited; there are night classes for those who are employed during the day; there are week-end classes for those who cannot attend at any other time and there are seasonal workers' schools which often last for six weeks, full time. Outsiders are particularly invited to attend many of these classes, notably those on Marxism-Leninism, and "Principles of Communism." Workers' schools and classes have been splendid recruiting mediums for the Party.

PENETRATION INTO CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

Another Communist device for rallying innumerable organizations and thousands of people around a common cause, is provided in the organization known as "The Southern California Councils for Constitutional Rights." While masquerading in attractive garb, this organization was conceived, organized and is directed by the Communist Party.

The Councils proclaims itself as an aggregated body composed of 94 organizations, representing 196,000 members, and including trade union, political, liberal and defense groups.

The immediate and continued success of this organization in drawing in various trade unions, church groups, working class organizations and free-lance liberals, makes it an outstanding example of the success of the United Front tactic, as applied by the Communist Party.

The Councils have held numerous conferences and mass meetings for the purpose of advancing their program, which includes among other points, an offensive and defensive line of action where the so-called "Constitutional Rights" of Communists are concerned. The group has also staged numerous protests to public bodies. The major assignment of this group during recent months was the intensifying of the campaign to repeal the Criminal Syndicalism Law. The So. Cal. Councils for Constitutional Rights is under the leadership of Rose Chernin, a Communist, and a Moscow trained functionary. Its headquarters are located in the American Bank Bldg., 129 W. Second St., Los Angeles. It is somewhat parallel to the organization which exists in Northern California with offices in San Francisco. The San Francisco group has, likewise, been the medium through which the Communist Party directed the campaign for the repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism Law.

The spreading of propaganda amongst the armed forces of the state is largely accomplished through the efforts of a special group of Communists, whose participation in this activity is carefully guarded and unknown to other party members. In order that this group may not be identified as Communists, they are removed from all other party work. They utilize various methods of placing their propaganda before the enlisted men. One method is to cultivate the friendship of the men and to impose the theory of Communism gradually. Another method is the distribution of bulletins and various Communist publications on battleships and in barracks. Still another, is to join

the National Guard or to enlist in the Army or Navy and carry on the subversive activity within. Communist girls and women are regarded as particularly desirable for activity in the special group for penetration of the armed forces.

As a precautionary measure and in preparation for any emergency which might arise, the Communist Party maintains at all times, a complete secondary organizational structure which is alluded to as the "Underground Illegal Committee". This illegal underground committee is an exact replica of the present executive committee in sections, districts, etc. The Party members chosen to be members of the underground apparatus, are privately notified of their appointment by leading members of the Party and in many instances, the members are not known to one another but are given the name of one Party member to whom they must report should any emergency arise. The function of the underground committee members is to keep their identities secret and they must so regulate their activities that arrest for subversive activities is improbable. Should mass arrests of party members occur and the present leaders be placed in jail, the underground officers would immediately assemble and the Party work would continue with negligible interruption caused by the removal of the leaders.

PENETRATION INTO LABOR AND INDUSTRY

Next we direct our attention to the activities of the Communists in the industrial field. Here again, we see a radical change in policy—many of which have been made in Party activities in the past two years.

Prior to 1935, the Communist Party operated its own independent unions, which were banded together in the parent organization known as the Trade Union Unity League. This organization was an integral part of the "Red International of the Labor Unions" and the center of all Communist revolutionary unions in the United States. Its program was identical to that of the Communist Party in that they both advocated and worked for the overthrow of the government by force and violence. There were over 300,000 members in various revolutionary unions at the time the Trade Union Unity League (TUUL) was dissolved. The order for the dissolution of the TUUL was issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party in January, 1935, and the disintegration of the organization began immediately.

A directive accompanying the order

for dissolution, instructed all Party members and sympathizers to immediately join the American Federation of Labor. The transfer of these hundreds of thousands of Communists and sympathizers from their own revolutionary trade unions into the A. F. of L. has had a disastrous effect upon this great body of organized labor. The Communist influence in the A. F. of L. is evidenced to an alarming degree. It may be remembered that at an A. F. of L. Convention in San Diego some time ago, Communism was denounced. However, at the State Convention of the A. F. of L. recently held in Sacramento, the assemblage went on record endorsing the Committee on Industrial Organization and the whole convention assumed a definitely militant aggressive tone.

In this connection, the California State Organization Committee of the Communist Party, in its monthly organizational letter for October, 1936, stated:

"This Convention was the most progressive in the history of the California State Federation of Labor, and very definitely took an anti-Fascist position. The Party fraction influence in the Convention was unquestionably recognized by the majority of the delegates. The prestige gained by the Party among the progressives should be followed up immediately in each Central Labor Council area by approaching all delegates for the Party, who voted the militant slate."

Boring from within in the American Federation of Labor has been a Communist tactic of long standing, and is now being practiced more diligently than ever before. All campaigns and drives, whether originated or endorsed by the Party, are taken up in the locals by the Communist members. It was in this manner that the campaign to repeal the Criminal Syndicalism Law was carried into the A. F. of L.

The Communist Party is in accord with John L. Lewis and his Committee for Industrial Organization. In fact, the Party endorses the C. I. O. However, the Party realizes that the splitting of the A. F. of L. at this time would be dangerous to the aims and plans of the Communist program, so all Party members will remain in the A. F. of L., working to win over a majority of support for the C. I. O. One of the major tasks now is to prevent the expulsion from the A. F. of L. of any locals now endorsing the C. I. O.

Since we are restricting our review of Communist activities to those within our own state, we should make note of the fact that the Communist Party regards California as one of the most

important centers for concentration of the best Party forces it can muster at this time, and for this reason some of the most advanced and experienced organizers and leaders are being dispatched to this state from eastern centers. More will follow later. The hurried mobilization of strong Party forces here is due to the fact that California is rapidly becoming one of the nation's leaders in industrial and commercial fields. California's basic industries, the marine industry, agriculture, transportation and oil are subjected to the Party's concentrated attack. California is also regarded as of supreme importance as a war base in time of war and the penetration of the armed forces of this state are part of the Communist program.

The winning over of the body of organized labor to Communist ideology, or at least the winning of a majority influence in it, is the Communist goal. Consider the possibilities for harm should the Communists secure a controlling hand in the ranks of organized labor! The General Strike, the weapon they so widely extol, would be launched and it would be possible for them to so completely tie up industry that the entire nation would lie hopelessly paralyzed.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party, which is the highest body of the Party in America and which has its headquarters in New York City, has issued instructions that a Trade Union Commission be established in every important section in California. The District Committee of the Communist Party, in compliance with these directives, established a State Trade Union Commission in March, 1935, and the other sections of the state set up similar commissions under guidance of the district commission. All activities of Communists and sympathizers in the A. F. of L. Unions are now directed by these commissions.

These Trade Union Commissions are composed of Fraction Secretaries from each group in the following industries: Marine, agriculture, transportation, oil, aircraft, rubber, furniture, metal, building trades, culinary, theatrical, needle trades, packing house and printing, etc. Directives issued by the District Trade Union Commission on "OUR IMMEDIATE AIMS," were:

"I. To fight for higher wages and better working conditions in all crafts and industries.

"II. To organize the unorganized and to work for the establishment of industrial unions and the amalgamation of craft unions wherever possible.

"III. To co-ordinate the activities of

all militant rank and file groups in order to successfully combat company unionism, vigilantism and all other Fascist trends.

"IV. To organize all progressive elements to the labor movement behind a militant rank and file program in preparation for the State and National Convention, in order that we will be able to kick out such reactionary misleaders as Scharrenberg, Vandeleur, Casey and others of the same type who have been strangling the labor movement by their policy of collaboration with the large employers, as in the case of the San Francisco General Strike.

"V. To actively support and spread the campaign, for real unemployment insurance such as the Lundeen Bill, H. R. 2827, and the State Pelletier Bill, A. B. 791.

"VI. To raise the sentiment throughout the labor movement for the establishment of a Labor Party that will include all oppressed sections of the population and their working class political parties as well as the entire trade union movement.

"VII. To build strong disciplined Communist fractions in all trade unions. This will be our only guarantee of maintaining the necessary strength of the unions in order to win immediate demands as well as to develop a class consciousness that will lead them to a revolutionary program for the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' government."

AGRICULTURAL AND MARITIME ACTIVITIES

We are all familiar with the pernicious effects of Communist agitation in the maritime industry. Strikes and threats of strikes are the vipers in the bosom of this industry. The danger of the prostration of the entire shipping industry, with the resultant shortage of food and other necessities of life, would be imposed upon the entire population, hangs forever like the sword of Damocles over the heads of an entire nation. However, there can be no hope of surcease so long as the hornets' nest of Communist agitators is permitted to exert its influence over working people. Harry Bridges, an alien Communist, has carte blanche to travel all over the United States, organizing strikes and carrying on his agitational activity amongst the seamen and longshoremen. There appears to be no law and no movement to restrain him.

Meanwhile, the Communist agents have organized the longshoremen, the seamen, the sailors and the fishermen into Party units and rank and file opposition groups. Wherever they go, they, in turn, carry on agitational and organizational activity. And we must

never lose sight of the fact that wherever there are Communist sailors and seamen on passenger liners and on commercial transports, there is always the lurking danger of sabotage and mutiny—of impending and possible harm to the human life and the property which are entrusted to these marplots. Truly, the Communist star is in its ascendancy in America.

The Communist Party maintains full time field organizers, well subsidized by the Party, in the agricultural field all over the state of California. Mexican organizers are used in those sections where large numbers of Mexicans are employed. The orange pickers strike in Orange County was forced upon the pickers by the agitators. The workers fear to antagonize the agitators and organizers and often concur with the strike ultimatum through fear rather than through desire.

Another example of the damage that can result from Communist agitation is seen in the agricultural strike in the celery fields in the Los Angeles County sector. During the strike, considerable damage was done to property and bodily injuries were suffered by deputy sheriffs who attempted to maintain law and order at the scene of the strike. In the Venice-West Los Angeles strike, violence was attempted on a mass scale, but was quickly subdued to prompt and efficient action taken by the police.

The Communists injected themselves in the Salinas shed workers strike. Although the strike was called by the A. F. of L., the Communist agitators attempted to influence and regulate its course.

Many other agricultural strikes in the northern and central part of the state owe their origin to Communist organizational and agitational activities.

Many other industries of Southern California, and particularly in Los Angeles, have suffered strikes which were fomented by the Communists operating within legitimate labor unions. In most instances these strikes were marked by violence.

With the field of transportation by water now well organized, the Communists are focusing their attention on the other means of transportation, which they consider one of the vital industries in California. Trucking and railroading are receiving the most sober consideration by the Party. All truck drivers must be organized if the Communist Party is ever to be able to completely paralyze all transportation of produce, etc., during future strikes. The Communist influence among truck drivers is already of sufficient strength to permit the Party leaders to direct the major part of their attention to

railroads. The Communists realize that if they succeed in tying up transportation by water, attempts will be made to carry on the regular flow of business through land transportation. Looking far ahead, as usual, the Party is now busily engaged in organizing units in the B. R. T. locals. Units of Pacific Electric motormen and conductors have been organized and are functioning secretly.

We have spoken of the Communist tactics of organizing strikes and of the preliminary organizational and agitational strides preceding the actual calling of strikes. But (and we wish to give this point the most forceful emphasis) the winning of strikes is not the thing which Communists are really interested in. In fact, they have publicly admitted that they will never be satisfied with any gains they may make "under the capitalist system." Strikes are used only as instruments with which to impress and win over the working people to their cause.

THE "UNITED FRONT" IN CALIFORNIA

Be it said to the shame of the United States of America, that an organization whose aim is the overthrow of this government and the substitution of a Communist regime, enjoys the status of a legal political party and has the right to place its candidates on the ballot—all of whom are dedicated to strive unremittingly for this government's overthrow! It is not the desire of Communists to be elected to office that causes them to run for office. Candidates are placed in the field for the exclusive purpose of placing the Communist theory and propaganda before the public. And they are making the most of this priceless opportunity.

Every medium of transmission is utilized by the Communist to thrust their propaganda upon the American public. Radio broadcasts, on national networks, have provided opportunities for Earl Browder, the Communist candidate for President of the United States, to spread the message of Communism before millions of people. James Ford, the Negro Communist candidate for Vice President, has also been billed on these national network broadcasts. Countless local California broadcasts have been, and still are, being released over major stations. Let us not merely make these statements, and then pass them by without further thought. This is a momentous question and we must give it the sober consideration it deserves. The outrage of granting the use of our national broadcasting facilities to agencies who are urging our millions of people to join with the Communist Party in its at-

tempt to overthrow our government, surpasses all understanding! And all because in America, we permit those who would be our destroyers to enjoy the prestige of being labeled "a legal political party."

Other activities arranged in connection with the carrying on of the Communist campaign, are symposiums, rallies, neighborhood agitation, the establishment of campaign headquarters, etc. When symposiums are arranged, the halls are always packed with Communists, and it has been the unhappy experience of many candidates of respectable political parties, to be booed and hissed and hooted down by the Communists when they attempted to seriously present their views.

Directives issued by the State Organization Commission of the Communist Party of California, point out to all Party members in this state, that the remaining weeks of the election campaign challenge the Communists to reach hundreds of thousands of California people. The state leaders say, "We **can** and **must** be a factor determining events in the country." The visiting of voters in their homes is a part of this campaign. Lists of precincts are bought from the Registrar of Voters, and these names are used as leads for house-to-house work. Those voters registering "Decline to State" and "Socialist," are given prior consideration. It is astonishing but true, that many recruits for the Communist Party have been secured in this neighborhood activity.

Party directives also call for the renting of small stores or halls, where election campaign headquarters are established. These headquarters are also used as book stores for the sale of all Communist publications and for general recruiting headquarters.

Street meetings are held and draw large crowds of listeners. The Communist election campaign is here presented in all of its innocent appearing stratagem.

The news of the day daily tells a graphic story of the havoc, destruction and terror following the organization of so-called "Peoples' Fronts" in France and in Spain. What are the Peoples' Fronts? They are movements organized and controlled by Communists. The riots and street fighting which are a regular fare in France, are a result of the planning of this group. The stark tragedy of the Spanish people is solely and exclusively a pitiful consequence of the scheme of the Peoples' Front.

Stimulated and excited over the progress of the revolutionary achievements in European countries (which, by the way, bid fair to entangle all of

Europe in a revolutionary struggle which Russia hopes will bring Sovietism to every country in Europe), the American Communist Party is vigorously proceeding with its drive for the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party in the United States. Such a party would be the equivalent of the European People's Front. The Party believes that with the existence of a strong Farmer-Labor Party, the overthrow of the American government would become an imminent possibility.

Communists realize that the Herculean task of forming a Farmer-Labor Party requires assistance from forces outside the Communist Party. Therefore, they resort to exploitation of the old Communist standby, the "United Front." In a United Front movement, it is possible for the Communists to lose themselves and to secure the protection of respectable organizations and groups. Furthermore, and not the least in consideration, there is the feature of shifting unpleasant tasks on to others who have joined with the Communists in the United Front.

Repeated efforts have been made by the Communists to effect a United Front with Epics, Townsend groups, Socialists and others, on various issues. Often, without result. However, undaunted, the Communists assign great numbers of their members to join these various parties and groups, where they work to win over the members with the ultimate aim of drawing them into a Farmer-Labor Party. The sad experience of many of these groups is a matter of record. In cases too numerous to enumerate, the Communists, upon joining the group or organization, have carried on such destructive activities that the organization has either disbanded or been so badly wrecked that its original usefulness was forever nullified.

Instructions issued by the State Committee of the Communist Party of California, may be of interest. A few chosen as indicative, are:

"We must pile up a Big Vote, along with which will go our mass education and recruiting as a stronger basis for a Farmer-Labor Party, a front against reaction."

"Take final steps to strengthen and broaden the election apparatus, involving every Party member in some kind of a committee, or club, drawing in and working with many non-Party people. Our work must penetrate deep into the neighborhoods, unions and other organizations. This means personal contacting, house-to-house and around candidates' clubs or committees in the concentration places. The issues must be localized and concretely placed before special sections of the population,

such as Townsendites, trade unionists, etc."

"The need for funds for broadcasts is not being dramatized, yet it is perhaps the strongest appeal. We need funds for instance, to pay for a broadcast on the Fresno station, a center of our fight for free speech and against reaction, and for other places."

"Trade unions fractions and committees: These should at once be fully activized and held to account for carrying on the drive to reach the rank and file with our agitation and propaganda. This is still one of the weakest spots in our campaign. Trade union fractions must immediately meet and make plans to guarantee that our message, 'Vote Communist' reaches the membership. Candidates who are in the A. F. of L. must be actively used. Plan to have every local union meeting covered with proper leaflets—arranging to have our comrades get there early, before meeting convenes."

The State Committee further states that at the present time they had received innumerable letters and requests for literature in response to the radio broadcast made by William Schneiderman, the State Organizer of the Communist Party in California. Instructions follow, calling for wider publicity for all radio broadcasts by Communist speakers, so that wider masses of people may be reached. Party members are instructed to issue leaflets advertising the broadcasts, to mail notices of the broadcasts and to insert notices in local papers, etc.

ATTACKS ON CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM LAW

So successful have the various features of the Communist election campaign been thus far, that the Party feels justified in setting as a goal the doubling of the Party membership by the end of the election campaign period. With recruiting being steadily accomplished, it now appears that the goal will be reached.

To repeat, the attempt to repeal the Criminal Syndicalism law, has been one of the Communist Party's most vigorous campaigns in the political field. This law, so vitally important to the control of Communist activities, stands as the only ally of the peace officers in the American war against Communism and its use has never been abused by the authorities. The last drive to secure signatures for placing its repeal on the ballot, was so successful that there was a shortage of only a few thousand names. The fraudulent propaganda issued by the Communists, in which they claim that the Criminal Syndicalism law is a menace to every person, must be exposed—

and without delay! It may be interesting to note that many A. F. of L. locals endorsed the repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism law. This gives us some idea of the deep penetration of the Communists into the A. F. of L. and of the effectiveness of their method of carrying the Party campaigns into their unions.

All up and down the state of California, there are candidates for public office, who have in the past and are at the present, aiding and abetting the Communists in carrying out certain phases of their program.

In spite of the fact that Leo Gallagher has a long record of association with Communists, of entering into many of their campaigns (notably the drive to repeal the Criminal Syndicalism law), of militantly defending Communists arrested for subversive activities, of defiance of the authorities and the courts where his association with the Communists is concerned, he rolled up a tremendous vote at the time he was a candidate for the office of Justice of the State Supreme Court.

The same applies to Anita Whitney, who has on numerous occasions been a candidate for important positions in state offices. Having had the advantages of higher education and social training made possible because of the fact that her family had wealth and social position, she renounced all of the traditions of family and country and aligned herself with the Communists in their campaign to overthrow the American government. Her activities in this field have not been shrouded in secrecy—they have been openly and widely heralded, so the fact that the voters of California flattered this woman with an enormously heavy vote, cannot be defended on the basis that they were uninformed of her true character.

However, there are the cases of numerous other candidates for public office in the state of California, as well as many who have been elected to office, whose affiliation with or sympathy for the Communist cause has not been made a matter of public knowledge or record. After having elected some of these men to office, residents of the state have been shocked to find that they have elected to responsible public positions men who either aligned themselves with the Communists or aided and abetted them in furtherance of their program.

It is a solemn obligation of every citizen to inform himself of all such undesirable candidates seeking public office and to assist in carrying on a strong and untiring campaign of education of the public as to the candidates' true leanings, connections, activ-

ities, sympathies and support of radical and subversive elements.

The Criminal Syndicalism law was enacted upon the principle that it was imperative for the best interests of the majority of citizens of the state to provide some legal expedient for the apprehension of persons found to be advocating, teaching and working for the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence and for their prosecution and punishment. Owing to the fact that many Communists have been halted in their subversive activities in this state through the effectiveness of the Criminal Syndicalism Law—and also because they fear the possibility of future interference with their destructive program—they conduct a perennial campaign for the repeal of this law. They circulate false and misleading propaganda regarding it, claiming that the law may be used against any innocent person; but records prove this to be utterly untrue. The Criminal Syndicalism Law has never been invoked against any persons except those who were members of an organization, group or society that engaged in unlawful activities denounced by the statute.

In order to correct the malignant misinformation about this law which the Communists have broadcast far and wide, it is incumbent upon all peace officers to use their utmost influence for the retention of the Criminal Syndicalism Law, and further to assist in correction of any and all false information the public has received on the question, and simultaneously enlist the support of the public in the campaign for the law's preservation.

ALIEN INFLUENCE

The Department of Labor of the United States has among its tasks the safeguarding of the welfare of the wage-earners and the preservation of peace in industry. Although entrusted with these responsibilities, it has failed to a certain extent, in its charge. Its prerogative of deporting undesirable aliens has been sadly overlooked or neglected.

There are in California today, as well as in cities and hamlets all over the United States, alien Communists who have been ordered deported, but who still remain within the United States and carry on their treasonable activities. Formerly, the excuse given for permitting these enemies to remain in America, was that America had no diplomatic relations with Russia and that, therefore, a Russian subject could not be deported to Russia—nor to any other place, for that matter. Now, however, long after recognition of

Russia has been made, these Communist agents remain, carrying on the work assigned them by their masters.

Some legal provision should be devised by the national government whereby alien Communists against whom warrants of deportation have been issued, and which remained unexecuted because of the fact that we have no diplomatic relations, or in the event of having diplomatic relations but no agreement for handling the deportables of which they are subjects, may be incarcerated in concentration camps or prisons until such time as the countries from which they came consent to their return, or they choose the alternative of voluntary departure.

In addition, there are undoubtedly thousands of other alien Communists of varied nationalities in the United States against whom deportation proceedings should be instituted, under the alien anarchy provision of the Immigration Act of 1920.

It is obvious that the deportation laws must be enforced; or, in the event that they are inadequate, they must be revised to meet the present requirements.

More drastic immigration laws are another imperative protective measure which must be considered.

National legislation, designed to provide a method for contending with agents and agencies active in attempts to overthrow the present form of government in this country, must be devised and enacted.

Another recommendation is that the necessary action be taken to outlaw the Communist Party and its subsidiaries in the state of California. Further, legislation should be enacted which would prohibit any organization which advocates, teaches and advises the overthrow of this government by force and violence, from obtaining a place on the ballot.

In most of the cities in this state there are free speech zones and the Communists take full advantage of the opportunity afforded them to hold street meetings and mass demonstrations in these areas. In so doing they generally tie up vehicular traffic, create traffic hazards and cause a blockade of the sidewalks, thus creating a great inconvenience upon persons going about their legitimate business. Persons passing at the times such meetings or demonstrations are in progress, are subjected to annoyances and insults from the Communist speakers and their cohorts present, who persist in forcing their publications upon passers-by, and in exhorting them to join the Communist Party and to contribute money for the propagation of Communist doctrines.

At every one of these meetings and demonstrations, a number of placards and banners are displayed, containing inflammatory and seditious slogans. The character of the remarks indulged in by the Communist agitators is that of vicious villification and denunciation of the government and its institutions and casts aspersions upon the nation's leaders.

A careful study of all existing ordinances must be made in each locality. If, after investigation, it is found that the existing local ordinances are outmoded or inadequate to prohibit such street meetings and demonstrations from being held, efforts of the peace officers must be directed toward securing enactment of such ordinances as will eliminate such conditions.

REMEDIES PROPOSED

Some legal means or methods should be devised which will provide for the disbarment of any or all attorneys who actively engage in aiding, abetting and furthering the Communist Party program and its activities, as well as those of its subsidiaries and auxiliaries.

While recognizing the right of every person to the benefit of legal counsel when accused, it must be remembered that attorneys take an oath to uphold the Constitution, but when they elect to overstep the boundaries of their prescribed limitations, by openly and actively aligning themselves with, and actively participating in and espousing the program and activities of organizations having for their purpose the overthrow of the American form of government and its institutions, they should be exposed and made to suffer the consequences of disbarment in this and every state.

Throughout the state we have a number of attorneys who have actively participated in activities such as heretofore described, and who have challenged and defied the right of the state and local bar associations to take any action against them.

It is finally recommended that an intensified campaign of education and enlightenment for the public as to what Communism is, as to how the Communist Party carries on its subversive work and including all of the necessary information which will enable anyone to recognize a Communist or Communist activity at sight. The latter may be important at some future time should the Party "go underground." Then, instead of flaunting itself proudly and publicly, it would institute a program of insidious activity which would attempt to hide its real character in countless guises.

Even at present, many of the Party's

activities are so clothed as to appear innocuous. Communists use the demand of "Unemployment Relief" and other equally appealing ideas as strings in their dragnet, with which to entangle the unwary American. The public must be so educated that immediate detection of the Communist hand can be made—whether it be in seemingly artless "letters to the editor" in the press, or whether it be in the spoken word, or any other conceivable garb. The ingenuity of the Communists and their followers must not be under-estimated, for a sordid history and background of lying, plotting, murder and vicious hatred is their heritage. They are steeped in the traditions of hatred for those who have been successful in life, of bitter envy of those who have possessions; of an avenging desire to reduce to a low level those who may have had the advantages of education, position or wealth; and the determination to wrest from those who have superior advantages, all the things which they enjoy in life and which are rightfully their own.

The trick of inserting propaganda in the press, by "writing a letter to the editor," is widely practised by the Communist fold. Provocative discussions are often induced in this manner. The public should be advised of this method and be ever on the alert for such attempts to instigate Communistic discussions through the "Open Forum" sections of the papers.

DUTY TO EDUCATE THE PUBLIC

All patriotic publications should cooperate with the public in its attempt at self-education, and should publish the proper information which will expose the principles, aims, purposes and methods of operation of the subversive elements and the papers should familiarize the public with the phraseology of the Communists, so that his expressions of apparent benevolence may be recognized for their real worth.

The importance of education along these lines for the public cannot be over-emphasized. Denunciation of Communism is insufficient. The inquiring mind of the newly interested person is not satisfied with the bare statement that Communism is distasteful, hateful or objectionable. This person will wish to know WHY Communism is not applicable to the needs and desires of the American people. The seeds of Communistic propaganda have already been sown, with the result that a fair harvest is already in process of development—particularly amongst the youth of America. In order to counteract this, and to arrest any further development, it is the solemn duty of American institutions and

patriotic organizations to establish an educational system which will expose Communism in all of its naked hideousness. Competent teachers must be

trained, who will tear the mantles of pretense, hypocrisy and illusion from Communism, and the public must be informed of the stark tragedy of life

under a Soviet form of government. We must be as capable in defending our democracy and institutions, as the Communists are in undermining them.

Belloc Sees Crisis As Menace

Writer Predicts Clash Between Church and Reds

Brooklyn Tablet, Feb. 20, 1937

HILAIRE BELLOC, prominent layman in the Catholic Church and outstanding literary figure, delivered the first of a series of lectures Tuesday in the Graduate School of Fordham University, as a "Visiting Professor of History."

To several hundred graduate students, advanced undergraduates and members of the faculty, he promised to demonstrate historically in the next three months that the present Western civilization originated with the Catholic Church and that its present crisis is the fruit of the Protestant Reformation.

The crisis will be resolved, he predicted, by a great revolutionary clash within the lifetime of men now 40. In this clash, he said, the strong figure "on the traditional or authoritarian side" will be the Catholic Church. On the other side, with equal inevitability, he foresaw "the forces of organized communism." He distributed Protestants between both sides.

URGES A RETURN TO "THE FAITH"

The solution of this crisis, he said, was a general return to the Roman Catholic faith.

"Every major question in history," he said, "is a religious question."

Mr. Belloc was introduced by Rev.

Lawrence Walsh, dean of the Fordham Graduate School, as "the one who, beyond all other Catholic writers, has done most to combat and make known the conspiracy of history and of historians against the Catholic tradition."

As a preliminary to his extended demonstration, Mr. Belloc laid down "four postulates which you must accept if you are to go on with me." They were:

"1. Truth lies in proportion—a thing which men almost always forget when they write history. You may write false history not only by giving wrong quantities, but also by neglecting proper qualities.

"2. Religion is the main determining element in any country—it has more effect in molding life than nationalism or a common language.

"3. Evidence in history is multiform and subject to judgment—it includes not only documents but tradition, archaeology, dead facts and above all, common sense.

"4. A statement of truth in history is not advocacy—it is a statement of truth."

Although he identified himself repeatedly in speaking "as a Catholic," Mr. Belloc based his assurance of truth in his own history on his belief that

"there is something about the discovery of reality which will charm men more than anything else they may have in mind."

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY

According to his outline of the projected lectures, Mr. Belloc will on Tuesday and Friday, trace the development of modern society from the original acceptance by the slave-owning Greco-Roman empire of "an institution called the Catholic Church."

"It had its flowering in the period generally known as the Middle Ages," he said. "Thereafter, the feudal system slowly transformed losing status and substituting contract, making usury no longer the exception to the rule, with greed bringing on competition and the destruction of small polity and therefore the destruction of human freedom; until at last there arose a system which is called by its enemies and even by its friends, the capitalistic system, with an increasingly exploited and therefore oppressed proletariat.

"We now confront the fruit of that long process of decay and confusion in the religious thought and habits and doctrines of society which has been going on nearly 400 years since the Reformation."



Knowledge of Communism

and

A United Christian Front

Against

The Third International





Part II

World Survey



The Russian Situation

Synopsis of article by Sir Bernard Pares in the SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW for January, 1937. Condensed by Mr. Frank Fadner, S.J., Woodstock College.

IN THE German-Japanese anti-Communist Pact, obviously backed with Italian sympathy, Sir Bernard Pares, Director of the School of Slavonic Studies in London University, sees an important contributing factor in the situation of U. S. S. R.

The most dramatic duel of modern times, the battle between Stalin and Trotsky has been fought over this issue: "Can Socialism maintain itself in one country while the rest of the world remains capitalistic?" Stalin said it could. Trotsky said it could not, and, more logically, pushed for world revolution.

The history subsequent to Stalin's stand is generally known. The ruthless industrial, agricultural and educational Five Year Plans made it necessary to export Soviet raw materials; as a result the country suffered a shortage of necessities in the hope of future benefits. The NEP voiced the peasants' desire for individual farming and the 1923 Government Land Code gave some heed to this preference. Despite the devastating civil war that followed the attempt at forced collectivization, Sir Bernard Pares declares that the Industrial and Agricultural Plans have had a happy issue. Russia has a solid, heavy industry of her own—a sure stay in war. Agricultural mechanization, effective as it is against inclement nature has brought about the contented collectivization of the greater part of Russia. The revised forms of collectivization have made essentially for this happy settlement.

Stalin's concentration on domestic construction temporarily eclipsed the Comintern which then turned its activities to Asia and so naturally has given rise to friction with Japan with its claims to Asiatic supremacy.

Hitler's threat in *Mein Kampf* next loomed dark and has given a defensive tinge to Stalinism. Russians now speak of "My Country" and "My

Soviet Fatherland." Through capable Litvinov they have sought friends with bourgeois peoples. The U. S. A. has recognized the U. S. S. R., the League has given it a seat, England has been brought nearer, France and Czechoslovakia have joined Russia in a defensive alliance for the maintenance of the *status quo* against the ever more closely united powers, Germany, Italy and Japan who are discontented with the *status quo*.

To capture her people's interest in the Fatherland's defense modified legislation has become the order of the day in Russia. The once rigidly associated collective farms now more closely resemble the loose schemes of agricultural cooperation of the West. Home, land (inheritable), animals, earnings are guaranteed the peasant. The middle man and the principle of hired labor are the only capitalistic elements now excluded from Soviet Russia.

Educational and Social Policy has experienced a similar right-about-face. Authority of parents is restored, divorce is referred to judgment on the dissent of one party, abortion is prohibited, class restrictions on education have been liquidated, objective teaching of an academic nature has been restored. Little effective concession, however, has been made to the practice of religion. As a climax to these trends has come the new constitution, born, if you please, in the Communist Party, with its guarantees for universal suffrage by ballot for national representative assembly, freedom of speech, meetings and press, accompanied by Godless M. Yaraskavsky's edifying tolerance; namely, that priests should have the same right to vote as the rest. These utterances—for that they are, we may say, and nothing more—are understandable when we consider Russia's desperate bid for sympathy

from outside, the very foundation of Litvinov's policies.

The necessary effect followed and goodwill obtained for Russia from many sides as the world revolution threat seemed to have lost its significance. Foreign pro-Stalin sympathy, especially for his justice has been somewhat dampened, however, by the shocking murder trials at Leningrad and Moscow, reviving as they have memories of the bloody past. Sir Bernard Pares believes there were plots against the government by those convinced of Stalin's lukewarmness in the cause of world revolution and, but thinks the evidence weak which points to the conspirators' (half of them were Jews) collaboration with the German political police and with the Italians. They may have been acting in good faith (in the Marxian sense). Lenin used the German Imperial Government in his path to glory and his disciples would do likewise—even with Stalin's government—in their path to world revolution.

The Spanish affair has put the Soviet Government in an even worse light. The Left in Spain is more anarchistic than Communistic. Obviously the Spanish Anarchists and the Russian Stalinites, opposed as they are, or should be, are companions against a common enemy, Fascism. Pragmatic and opportunist considerations choose Stalin's bed-fellows. This descent of Russia to her place among the totalitarian dictatorships has massed against her an anti-Communist bloc aiming to isolate Russia for material gains. Sir Bernard does not share in Hitler's belief that the great menace to world peace comes from Soviet Russia, and bases his claim on Russia's "passive" acceptance of Japanese aggression. He acknowledges that the British people desire an understanding with Germany, but holds that they should not buy their security in the West at the ex-

pense of France and in the East through German dominance. Be this as it may, Sir Bernard's article does

indicate that in the Stalin-Trotsky battle the latter seems to have the moral victory. Socialism cannot stand

in a capitalist world; moribund Russian Communism under Stalin is the proof.

English Communism In 1936

"The Universe," London, Feb. 5, 1937

THE Communist attack on Christian civilization in general, and on the Catholic Church in particular, in Great Britain during the past year, is notable for the extended use of "sapping" tactics, and for a steady advance made under cover. It is a more deadly advance than the spectacular tactics of violence and street fighting, tactics which involve the use of armed police and troops. Because we do not see armed police patrolling English streets, or machine-guns on English roofs, we assume that Communism is a dead letter today in England. There could be no more fatuous mistake. During the past year Communism in England has advanced all along the line—but the cultural not the political line.

Let us look at a few facts and figures. During 1936 the membership of the Communist Party of Great Britain has doubled. During 1936 the circulation of the official organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain, the *Daily Worker*, has also doubled; and this in spite of the refusal of such universal agents as W. H. Smith to handle the paper. The cultural quality of the paper has improved no less than the circulation. In July a series of admirably produced "Speakers' Notes" appeared, issued weekly by the Communist Party.

The most startling advance on the Communist front during 1936, in regard to printed propaganda, is concerned with a certain paper, *Challenge*, a paper which is described as "of paramount importance, as getting into Christian associations and other bodies into which Communist papers cannot enter." A year ago *Challenge* was a not-very-noticeable little monthly sheet; but one area alone in London had sold 1,300 copies in less than two weeks. In June the paper claimed to have exceeded circulation of any youth paper in England. In October a *Challenge* conference was called, in Finsbury, the platform of which was dominated by a finely designed backcloth with—the heads of Stalin and Lenin?—by no means—with a call to "Peace, Life, Truth," reinforced by "Read your Paper, *Challenge*." It was announced that the next month's issue would be 50,000; that the paper was paying for itself; and that it would

become a weekly in the New Year; selling at the rate of 15,000 per week.

We have been informed that 1937 will see the Young Communists' policy for youth explained at big meetings; and that next month 500 new members are to be enrolled in London alone, from "the growing army of young Communist supporters."

A significant development of the Communist Youth Movement, during the past twelve months, was to be seen in operation at the Eighth National Conference of the "Young Communist League of Great Britain," held in London last February. This National Conference lasted three days. The decorations of the hall were in complete contrast to those of the previous Y. C. L. Congress, which was held in 1933 under the portraits of Lenin, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Last year, the platform was dominated, not by Lenin, but by an immense banner displaying the slogan, "Young People of Britain Unite for Peace, Freedom and Youth Rights." A mass Y. C. L. was called upon to build up a "Merrie England"; and a special welcome was given to non-Communist and "Christian" representatives.

A principal aim of the Conference was announced to be Preservation of Peace. A comrade from the Young Communist League of France claimed that French Catholics had been induced to cooperate with the Communist Youth. The English Communist leader, John Strachey, said: "It is most necessary that we should outwit our opponents, most necessary that we should fool them." Members of the Students Christian Movement, the League of Nations Youth Groups, and of the Congregational Churches were successfully "fooled" into attending the Conference. The Christian Social Council sent a statement welcoming the Conference. And Comrade Gollan, leader of the Young Communist Youth of Great Britain, warmly encouraged Christian cooperation. So fully do the Young Communist organizers today carry out the famous injunction to "build Communism with non-Communist hands."

The Communist Youth Conference of February was followed in March by the annual meeting of the Communist educational center for the London

area, Marx House, held in the building from which Lenin once issued his great "underground" paper *Iskra*. It was announced that the library of some 3,000 volumes now possesses almost every Marxian book printed in English, for only by "understanding Marxism will our working class get its right focus"—the focus, that is, of the destruction of all religion and of all religion and of all Christian civilization. A successful "summer school" was held. Individual membership had greatly increased. In discussion circles workers, it was claimed, "get a Marxian outlook." When we recall that the aim of the Communist parties in all countries is to be the trained "spearhead" of the workers, considering quality rather than quantity in membership, this is not a bad record for a single area.

In March, also, the Communist film agency, "Kino" held their first annual general meeting, at which it was reported that during the past year "Kino" had given film shows to over a quarter of a million people; that the turnover had been trebled; and that promising provincial groups had been formed in Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow and Doncaster. Today the Communist-Anarchist Government of Spain is being portrayed as a government of Patriot democrats to hundreds of thousands in England and Scotland, by the film "Defense of Madrid."

In June the Communist "London District Party" held a three-day Congress, attended with unflagging energy. It is of special interest to recall today that the leader of the London District Party, D. F. Springhall, who is now with the "International Brigade" in Madrid, opened the Congress with the declaration that the policy of the VII World Congress of the Communist International, held in August, 1935, had effected "truly magnificent results" in Spain. This statement was made just three weeks before the ravaging of Spanish churches and the massacre of Spanish priests and nuns horrified a world that is still slow to comprehend the true meaning of Communism.

"Peace Councils" were urged as a means of "mobilizing public opinion;" our readers will recall the exposure of Peace Councils in the *Universe* of January 8 last. It is significant that

35 per cent of the delegates present at this Congress were Cooperators. In this connection the camp held last summer for the Cooperators Guild for girls and boys, known as the Woodcraft Folk, must not be overlooked. This camp was held in Sussex. It was attended by 30 members of the French children's "Red Falcon" group; Communist plays were performed; Communist speeches and songs were given in French and in English; and Internationale was sung—with its blasphemous line "No Saviours from on high deliver."

This, of course, is the merest outline of a few outstanding Communist events in the first half of last year. Space precludes any attempt to record the endless branch and area meetings, the output of pamphlets, and leaflets, the film shows, the "rambles" and

"One-day Schools," and the constant dances for young people. During the second half of the year the entire Communist propaganda machine has been working overtime in Spain. Meetings have been held without cessation on behalf of "Democracy and Liberty in Spain"; opposition has been shouted down; pamphlets, articles and leaflets have flowed from the Communist printing presses in a veritable spate. "Peace" meetings have been utilized for appeals to aid the Madrid forces. The services of the drama, of art, and of medicine have all been organized. And through it all is the insistent, savage attack on the Church; and the attempt to sow disruption and disloyalty in Catholic ranks in union with identical attacks, identical efforts to beguile Catholics from their allegiance in France and other countries.

Every lying allegation against the Church in Spain that it is possible to promulgate is being broadcast through hundreds of propaganda agencies. Every subtle inducement that the astute enemies of the Church can devise to seduce the Catholics into alliance with "Spanish Democracy" is being brought into action. The year 1936 has shown an immense advance in the strength of the Communist "United Front." The direct and indirect attacks on the Church, made in the persuasive name of Spanish Democracy, will mark the year 1937. They are attacks based on a lie; and made through lies, marvellously substantiated by every kind of false evidence. They can be beaten off by nothing short of the truth, insistently conveyed with the utmost clarity and with irrefutable documentation.

Anarchism and the Spanish Civil War

ANARCHISM, the theory that all forms of government are intrinsically evil and unnecessary is not an anachronism recently popularized in Spain. It has a long and chequered career which Prof. Hogan of University College, Cork, unfolds in his article in *Studies* for December, 1936. The ordinary idea of anarchism as the negation of authority fails to convey its full significance. It comes of the realization of contradiction between the immortal elements in man and the limited boundaries of the world which threaten his annihilation. The more intense man's awareness of his greatness and misery, the nearer he is to becoming either saint, poet or anarchist. Ultimately our attitude depends on whether we expect to find perfect happiness here on earth or beyond the grave.

Chesterton said that the world is full of Christian truths run wild. Anarchism paraphrases the Christian doctrine of the fall of man; the evil that entered the world is due entirely to the artificial environment in which man has imprisoned himself as the result of the exercise of authority. Such a doctrine is not merely a revolt against historical institutions, but essentially a radical expression of atheism and naturalism. It presupposes (1) absolute personal freedom as the highest good; (2) the intrinsic goodness of human nature and of all natural impulses; (3) man's self-sufficiency, and his independence of any higher principle.

Refusing another life in which the torments and contradictions of this will

be resolved, the anarchist revolts against existence itself; his passion for absolute liberty becomes a mania and vents itself in theories of man in isolation, man "his own government, his own law, his own church, a system within himself." Ultimately most anarchist doctrines topple over into various forms of collectivism or communism. The programmes of Bakunin and Kropotkin are examples.

If Bakunin is the father of modern anarchism, its god-father is Rousseau who assumed that men were naturally good, and that it was only institutions that made them bad. The difficulty that the Contrat Social was pure collectivism and opposed to his philosophy of individualism, Rousseau solved by an ideal "form of association by which each, being united with all, should yet obey only himself and still be as free as before." The remedy seemed simple. Remove the existing order—feudal absolutism in Rousseau's day, capitalism in our day—and you will find an ideal system. To Rousseau, then, belongs the philosophy of modern anarchism. But governments do not give up the ghost without a struggle. It was here that anarchism violated its first principle and decided to use force to end force. The school of Kropotkin and Tolstoy adopted the only logical and consistent course, pacifism, but the central anarchist tradition is *direct action*, the redemption of society by the blood of its enemies; its watchword is terrorism.

If the doctrine of absolute freedom becomes the most terrible of tyrannies,

it is because it enlists force to attain the unattainable. Doctrines as far apart as the free capitalism and economic individualism of the Manchester school, Stirner's egoism, and Nietzsche's superindividualism are all fruits of anarchist philosophy. What was once the religion of individualism passed over into anti-individualism, and naturalistic humanism culminated in anti-humanism at the end of the nineteenth century.

At first sight the pacifist and terrorist schools of anarchism seem to lie worlds apart. What affinity can there be between anarchists who repudiate the use of force and those of Irun and Barcelona whose slogan is *viva dinamita*? The force which the disciples of Kropotkin and Tolstoy object to is force applied by others to themselves. Their passive resistance soon transmutes itself into active resistance, then into defensive aggression, then into open assault, as aggressive as Bakunin's dynamiters. Nowhere has the propaganda of the Third International met with greater success than in the so-called organizations in defense of peace and against Fascism.

Were it not for the virus of Russian Nihilism, anarchism might have continued largely as an Utopian and philosophical movement. Michael Bakunin was chiefly responsible for combining the two and thus creating the modern movement of terroristic anarchism. Turgenev, the great Russian novelist, describes Bakunin as "nothing but a played-out agitator, a flighty, irresponsible demagogue," and with remarkable

foresight predicted that Russia, far from becoming a land of freemen, would become a land of tyrants and dogmatists, the seat of a new Imperialism, narrow-minded, cruel, and repulsive, which would beat the old Imperialism hollow at its own game.

Bakunin was looking for an avenue of escape from the problem of God, which haunted him from his youth. Under the influence of Rousseau, Fourier, the Left Hegelians, and the 1848 revolution, he developed into a militant anarchist and atheist. Voltaire had said, "If there were no God, it would be necessary to invent Him." Bakunin condemns this epigram, which he inverts, "If there is a God, He should be destroyed. . . . If God exists, then man is a slave. But man can and must be free; then God does not exist. There is no escape from this dilemma; hence it is necessary to choose. . . . I sought God in man, in his freedom, and now I seek God in revolution." In his oft-repeated proposition that the denial of God was not enough, that it was necessary to destroy Him, Bakunin betrays his revolt to be against a God really existing, for it is impossible to revolt against a negation. Only in these terms is it possible to account for Bakunin's hatred of God with which he was obsessed to the point of madness and which at the present day is the core and essence of Communism and Anarchism. Though the social and economic ideas of Marx were to triumph over those of Bakunin, the latter's satanic hatred of religion is perhaps the most living thing in Russia's inheritance of the 19th century, and he is regarded by Communists the world over as the major prophet of militant atheism.

The quarrel between Bakunin and Marx which wrecked the First International originated in personal antipathies as well as in differences of principle. Their ultimate ideal might be the same—a classless and stateless society of free producers. But true to his principles, Bakunin point-blank refused the state and political struggle which Marx insisted were the essential means to the ends they had in common. Marx, far from being shocked at Bakunin's advocacy of frankly criminal methods, borrowed freely from the terrorist side of the anarchist program. The worse, the better! Their struggle of principle recalls the struggle between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. Marx, like Lenin, stood for rigid authority and strict discipline within the party, and to the absolute adherence to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Bakunin, the Trotzky of the revolutionary scene in those days, was a romantic revolutionary and a feckless

theorist in Marx's eyes. What repelled and infuriated Marx was the rank heresy of the view that the proletariat was not a separate class with an exclusive and Messianic destiny; that the revolution must refuse the political struggle as leading down a blind alley; and that without political preparation and propaganda, the revolution could be achieved overnight.

The "Alliance of Socialist Democracy" which Bakunin formed was refused affiliation with the First International largely through Marx's influence because of its crime and banditry. The following excerpt from Bakunin's manifesto to Russian students will give some idea of his teaching: "Robbery is one of the most honorable forms of Russian national life. The brigand is a national hero; the defender, the popular avenger, the irreconcilable enemy of the state. . . . He who does not understand robbery can understand nothing in the history of the Russian masses. . . . It is through brigandage only that the vitality, passion, and force of the people are established."

Bakunin describes the character of his associate, Nietchayev, in the following words: "For him truth, mutual confidence, real and strict solidarity exist only between a dozen individuals who form the sanctum sanctorum of the Society. All the rest serve as blind instruments . . . they are conspiracy-fodder. In the name of the Cause, it is his duty to gain possession of your whole person without your knowledge. . . . If your friend has a wife or a daughter, he will manage to seduce her and give her a baby in order to force her to break away from official morality and into a revolutionary protest." Here is the fine flower of increasing misery. Capitalism does not work fast enough; it is up to the revolution to aid it in multiplying paupers and prostitutes; and with their aid will come the Brave New World.

According to the notorious revolutionary Catechism (mostly written by Bakunin, and which was popular reading in Barcelona at least up to the other day), "the anarchist has only one aim, one subject of study, namely, destruction. . . . Between him and society there is war to the death—incessant, irreconcilable. He ought to be ready to kill with his own hand all who obstruct the revolution—and himself be prepared in the cause of revolution to suffer torture or to die."

When the great anarch died in 1876, the anarchist movement had already struck deep roots in Italy and Spain, for in these countries parliamentary institutions did not lend themselves readily to schemes of social reform.

Direct action—"the propaganda of the deed," as Bakunin puts it, had more appeal to the hobo-proletariat, the real germ carrier of the social revolution, than parliamentary politics. Bakunin died, but his spirit lived on in these countries.

There were a variety of factors which particularly predisposed the Spanish revolutionary movement to anarchism: the fierce individualism which is an outstanding characteristic of the Spanish people; the backwash of Masonic and Liberal ideas, which since the anti-Catholic legislation of Mendizábal between 1837 and 1884 had steadily undermined the authority of the Church; the sudden development of the factory system and small scale industry against the background of a countryside traditionally Catholic; the confusion of ideas, the social tensions, the miseries and brutal exploitations of the worker which the new capitalism everywhere brought in its wake; the infiltration from the beginning of the century of the doctrines of utopian socialists; and above all, the fact that the social revolutionary movement was at the crossroads, undecided which way to turn, just when Bakunin's influence began to be felt.

In the interlude of six years, 1868-1874, between the expulsion of Queen Isabel and the return of her son, Alfonso XI, to the throne, the Spanish government indulged in some wild political experiments. In the prevailing confusion, the anarchist movement made rapid headway, particularly in Barcelona, Cordova, Oviedo, and Saragossa. Its progress far exceeded Bakunin's expectations. "What Italy has lacked up to the moment was not the correct instinct, but organization and the idea. Both are now developing so rapidly that, together with Spain, Italy is perhaps at this moment the most revolutionary country." Bakunin so completely triumphed over his Marxian opponents in Spain that the Marxists did not rise again as a major force in the left-wing politics of Spain until 1931.

The anarchists gave Spain a taste of what anarchism meant. Before the year 1873 was out, they had drawn blood. Between the Restoration in 1874 and the advent of Ferrer in the '90's, Anarchism had passed from theory to practice. The dragon's teeth scattered in the cities and villages of Spain by Bakunin's disciples produced its first crop of assassins and vandals. The unflattering description of man as "a ravenous animal delighting in human blood" fits the facts more closely than Rousseau's picture of the noble savage. With Ferrer, Russian Nihilism acclimated itself in

Spain. It was he who unchained the storm that has ever since continued to rage against the Catholic Church, and which even in the nineties showed its mad lust of destruction in such acts as the bombing of Corpus Christi processions.

Ferrer's Escuela Moderna were the normal schools for the terrorists who took a leading part in Barcelona's Tragic Week of rebellion in 1909, and in the entire subsequent rebellion of the anarchist movement.

Today Spanish anarchists have two main organizations: The Iberian Federation of Anarchists (F.A.I.) was founded in 1911 as a corp d'élite of doctrinaires, and its main function has been to coordinate anarchist unions and to safeguard anarchist orthodoxy. It was illegal until 1931, but now has a membership well over 10,000. The other, the National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) had 500,000 members last year, and now approaches the million mark.

The anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T. was founded at the beginning of the century under the influence of a combination of the ideas of Bakunin and Sorel. Undoubtedly there is a close relationship between anarchism and syndicalism. Anarchists detest any kind of centralization, and syndicalism offered organization without centralization. It was a cult of violence, a technique of

direct action, unconnected with politics or politicians, in direct tradition of Proudhon and Bakunin which made strong appeal to Spanish anarchists. On the other hand, how readily syndicalism, with its abhorrence of the State, its pathetic faith in the general strike, and its violence and sabotage, slides into mere destructive anarchism, is evident from its history in Italy and Spain.

Although not so strong numerically as the Marxists' U. G. T. (General Union of Workers), the C. N. T. is in every other respect at least as strong throughout Spain, and stronger in Catalonia, where it controls 70 per cent of the Reds. The old feud between Marx and Bakunin lives on between the U. G. T. and C. N. T. Three years ago nobody would have suspected them to unite in the Popular Front. Anarchist leaders urged their followers to take no part in the general election of 1931, and at the height of the risings in the Asturias and in Catalonia in October, 1934, anarchist leaders turned deaf ears to communist and socialist appeals for united action. Their newspapers, *Solidaridad Obrera* and *Tierra y Libertad*, even attacked the revolutionary movement.

Anarchists finally joined the Popular Front in the general elections of February, 1936, which is no small tribute to the persuasive powers of the representatives in Spain of the Third

International. When anarchists fight side by side with Marxists, anarchy itself prevails; no other word can do justice to the state of affairs in Spain since February last. With Largo Caballero in August, the Red Atheistic Dictatorship came forward in its naked reality.

Though the anarchists have lived up to their reputation and at least at the outset of the war literally exhausted the possibilities of insensate cruelties, it is impossible not to recognize the superiority of anarchist passion for liberty over the Marxian will to power. How can such a doctrine have engendered such infra-human and anti-human baseness such as broadcast by the Anarchist Federation of Barcelona: "Let people forget all their scruples about artistic treasures and moral values. Kill your father, your mother, your children; but from the blood we spill may liberty and freedom of the revolution arise!" The religion of revolution inspired by the faith of creating a heaven on earth, of raising man to the stature of a god, creates instead a hell on earth and debases man to the level of a beast. Having denied God in the name of man, man ends up by denying and torturing himself in the name of inhuman collectivity. Separate humanity from the living waters which spring perpetually from their source in divinity, and humanity rots away until it becomes less than human.

Communism Danger

Cited by Pastoral in Czechoslovakia

By V. MYSLIVEC,

*Czechoslovakia Correspondent,
N. C. W. C. News Service*

PRAGUE, Jan. 11.—The joint pastoral letter of the Czechoslovakia Hierarchy calls the attention of the Catholic population to the dangers of godless Communism.

The events in Spain are described graphically. It is emphasized that the hatred of godless Communism has been directed mainly at the Catholic Church because in her the Communists see the only true obstacle to the consummation of general anarchy.

"Today, an army of atheists, thirsting for conquest, engages in a diabolical combat against God throughout the world," says the pastoral.

If the Communists carry out what they now plan throughout the world, there will be a general revolution and mutual killing of society classes in the whole world, the prelates write.

The pastoral calls upon the faithful

to pray that God may extinguish the flames of class hatred.

BLAMES CATHOLIC CHURCH

The worst perfidy of godless Communism, it says, is that it blames the Catholic Church for the present depressed conditions.

The Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia, although its landed property was curtailed by the Land Reform, is giving away approximately \$2,800,000 each year to the poor, the pastoral goes on, whereas secular, so-called "humanitarian" charities Action spends from 50 to 75 per cent on management costs alone.

The whole world knows, says the letter, that the Catholic Church did not confine her activities to charitable activity only, but has always striven for justice in public and especially in economic life.

It is not the fault of the Church that she could not break the bonds of "liberalist" economic measures, it declares, but adds that the names of such

champions of workingmen's rights as Father Kolping, Bishop Ketteler, Cardinal Manning, St. John Bosco, and many others are famous.

CANNOT FORGET BENEFITS

The world can never forget, it goes on, what has been done for the benefit of the working classes by the Popes, especially by Leo XIII and Pius XI; the "*Rerum Novarum*" roused the conscience of statesmen and employers, pointing out the injustice of the economic system to the poor working classes, and "*Quadragesimo Anno*," fitting sequel of the former Encyclical, has discussed the same subject in the light of modern developments.

It is the wish of the Holy Father that everyone should do his utmost in his own sphere of activity for the renewal of social order, it is declared.

"Humanity is lost in rejecting the doctrine of the heavenly Samaritan and His Church in individual, public, and private life," say the Bishops, "and

in neglecting the means of salvation which are tenderly offered to it."

PROVISIONS DESTROYED

"Have you not heard recently," it asks, "that here and there tremendous quantities of provisions are destroyed solely to prevent their price from falling? And the responsible organs were silent when this wholesale destruction was going on. The infinitely bountiful

God gives earthly gifts in plenty. Whence then is the misery and famine? Because mankind has forsaken God and because of amazing avarice ignores all laws of justice and Christian charity, destroying the surpluses instead of distributing them among the needy and suffering.

"This is how the way is paved for revolutionary elements, but the Catholic Church is not to blame for this.

She denounces such action as a crime calling upon God for revenge."

The revolutionary elements, the letter goes on, promise a paradise on earth to their followers, but, where they come into power, death has a rich harvest, there is war, bloodshed, and general misery, so that the persecution of Christianity by godless Communism is much worse than that of Nero, Diocletian, and others.

Church is Pillar of Democracy

Ruler of Czechoslovakia Pays Tribute to Catholicism

By V. MYSLIVEC,

*Czechoslovakia Correspondent,
N. C. W. C. News Service*

PRAGUE, Feb. 8.—The Catholic movement in Czechoslovakia is one of the strongest pillars of this country's democracy, President Edward Benes told a delegation representing the Catholic Young People's Organization, who called upon him to thank him for his efforts to consolidate the country and to maintain peace.

The spokesman for the delegation quoted the historian, Palacky, as having said, "Whenever we have won, it has been done by the prevalence of spiritual and moral strength," and added:

"We are confident that the basic pillars of the existence of our State are religious spirit, morality, the Christian family, and just social and economic order. We have declared war against immorality and the filth which so often disgraces our streets, store windows, and public places."

CATHOLIC STUDENTS' AIM

The aims of Catholic students were outlined as: Work to make the Republic's schools truly religious; to keep the family sacred, inseparable, and secure in social respects; and for the introduction of a just social order in conformity with the Encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI.

"I am always glad," President Benes said, "when representatives of the young generation—regardless of political factions and cultural and religious conviction—come here to my castle. Conversation with them always makes it possible for me to see and understand how our spiritual world is developing, what is our trend, and how our future is going to shape itself.

"Catholicism in our country has gone through an evolutionary test. Since the war it has developed in a very favorable way. Catholicism does not

lean upon old-fashioned institutions of the former monarchy, but its basis is the peoples themselves and true democracy. Thanks to the prudence of its leaders, Catholicism in the Republic has become a movement of the people. It realized the importance of democratic institutions and has used them in the interests of religion. It has also fully comprehended the principle of tolerance and equality of rights and has drawn its consequences therefrom. Therefore, the Catholic movement in our country is—beside other factors—one of the strongest pillars of our democracy.

NO RELIGIOUS STRIFE

"Experience in other states teaches that religious movements—not excepting the Catholic movement—prosper in those places where the governing principles are mutual understanding, discussion, and compromise. But Catholicism is in difficulties in those spheres where only material strength and dictatorships prevail.

"The principles of my politics, even when I was Foreign Secretary, and today as President, have always been peace, tranquillity, tolerance, no religious strife, and respect for all religions.

"I welcome your declaration for the realization of greater social justice in the world. That is a thing which we all must continue to have in mind, and with goodwill we shall certainly agree upon the practical means to attain it.

"I fully agree that it is the only and right path avoiding all social extremes, revolutions, bolshevism, etc."

MORAL AND SOCIAL VALUE

In the friendly conversation that followed, President Benes said he highly values the importance of the Catholic movement and its favorable influence within the state, and repeated that Catholicism is a strong factor in his country's democracy, both in the moral and social respects.

He said he agrees with the delega-

tion in their declaration of the importance of Catholicism in the solution of social questions, as it is apparent in practice with such Catholic personages as the present Holy Father, Pius XI, and with His Eminence Jean Cardinal Verdier, Archbishop of Paris.

OLD CHURCH IN MOSCOW NEW GODLESS MUSEUM

(Special Correspondence, N. C. W. C. News Service)

Moscow, Jan. 11.—When the ancient walls of the Strasnoi Monastery, containing the Central Anti-Religious Museum of Moscow, were destroyed last fall, it was announced that the museum would be transferred elsewhere, but no details were given at that time.

The *Bezbojnik* (Godless Review) announces that in connection with the reconstruction of Moscow, a new central anti-religious museum will be erected. An old church situated near the White-Russian railway station has been chosen for this purpose after repairs and improvements. The plans call for a 12-room exhibit, to which will be added a motion picture auditorium seating 100 people. Five new departments will be added: Religion and Atheism During the Middle Ages; Religion and Atheism in Modern Times; The Class Essence of Judaism; Islam; and Buddo-Lamaism.

A reading library with 70,000 special works on atheism will form part of the new museum. The entire new establishment is scheduled to be finished by next May, and it is being constructed with great haste. The expense of this undertaking is being defrayed in totality by the Soviet Government.

The Godless organ says that almost 180,000 people visited the old Godless museum last year, but that the number of visitors must be doubled as soon as the new museum will be finished.

Anti-God Literature Exhibition in Rome Reveals Menace

By WALTER MARIAUX, S.J.
Queen's Work, February, 1937

"WE ARE sitting on a volcano," a visitor to the exhibition of anti-God literature held in Rome was heard to make this remark. Similar sentiments were expressed by many others who had the good fortune to be able to visit this highly interesting exhibition held in the hall attached to the periodical *Lettres de Rome*.

The enormous diffusion of atheistic propaganda made an overwhelming impression on the visitor. Not only in Russia itself are 5,500,000 atheists fighting God and His Church, but their influence penetrates, by means of the Komintern, to all quarters of the world. Small republics of South America have a goodly number of atheistic leaflets and pamphlets allotted them. A large map of France on the wall aimed at showing graphically the sudden increase of the communist voting power in that country. In Great Britain 1,848,000 revolutionary publications had been issued within a year.

EVERYWHERE

A striking map showed Montevideo as the center of a network of communist propaganda all over the continent of South America. The same system is employed throughout Europe and the rest of the world. Moscow is the center of a vast mosaic of underground influences.

Well do the apostles of atheism know how to adapt themselves to the circumstances existing in each country! Their slogans vary according to the various political situations: For the Solidarity of the Working Man; Fight Imperialism; Religion Is the Opium of the People; The Church Protects Capitalism. In countries where the Church wields an important influence, atheists aim at mocking the Pope and priests and all religious institutions. In England this kind of propaganda is used far less. There they talk of peace and attack capitalism.

The adaptation to various countries is very skillfully done. In the section given over to the United States we noticed a neat magazine which at first glance might be thought to have come there by mistake. But on closer inspection it was found to reek with Bolshevism! It aimed at catching the bourgeoisie. On the cover was a girl playing lawn tennis. The title was "Soviet Russia of Today." "Parodies for Babies in Russia" was the caption for one article. Smiling babies adorned this page. "The Freedom of Russian Women" was another caption. This

article was illustrated with "free" women. The wonderful results obtained in Russian institutions were enumerated. Not a word about the misery of the children, the cruelties, the horrible depravity.

AND FOR ALL

In nearly all countries various kinds of journals and special leaflets have been written for peasants and the unlettered, and even those who cannot read are given specially illustrated periodicals which convey ideas through pictures. This, as can well be imagined, carries an immense influence. Some of the sarcastic cartoons are very clever. One in particular vilified the very idea of sanctity.

The methodical and highly organized procedure of the communists was made clearly evident. The hall devoted to England demonstrated how communist apostles are organized on a hierarchical basis. Orders arrive from the Komintern in Moscow to the district committees. From here they are transmitted to one of the six local committees, who in turn pass them over to the so-called "instructors" or principal agents. They are responsible for four "cells," either factory cells or street cells. Thus a double end is obtained: First, the masses are influenced by the formed few. Secondly, this infiltration is achieved in a uniform and disciplined manner.

In a hall devoted to Spain it could be seen how the communist revolution had been preparing itself during the last few years. Colored maps on the walls showed clearly the centers of communist propaganda: in 1931, Seville, Barcelona, Oviedo, Alicante, and Malaga. In 1932 the propaganda began in Madrid, Toledo, Valencia, Saragossa, Lerida, Huelva, Gerona. From year to year it intensified. It was made clear that all this effort was financed from Moscow and that all local centers depended directly on Russian money.

It was elsewhere shown that Moscow had given the communist *Daily Worker* in England £34,000 from 1930 to 1936.

An extraordinary "strong will to conquer" is shown in all these efforts. In America they are not content merely to use the English language, but 20 other languages are employed. Where it is impossible to penetrate directly with Bolshevik propaganda, attempts are made to penetrate with illegal literature. Thus it was shown how an advertisement for a certain doctor's powders contained Bolshevik propaganda. Cigarette cards carried the red flag. A neat little guide book adver-

tised the beauties of a certain country on the cover; the inside contained Bolshevik literature. An English grammar contained orthodox rules for grammar on the left page, but on the right the glories of Soviet Russia found ample expression. In Switzerland Bolshevik literature was shown in three languages: French, German, and Italian. The theater is used with good effect in England. It was shown how groups organized and conducted apparently for sports could in reality be used effectively as communist centers.

ONE MIGHTY HATRED

All these vast influences and forces agree on one point: hatred for the Catholic Church. The leading newspaper for this anti-religious war is the *Beshoshnik*, with a circulation of 300,000 copies. Some of the early numbers of this newspaper were shown. The contents of this paper exemplified the saying of Lenin written to his friend, Maxim Gorki: "Any idea of any kind of God is horrid baseness." Nothing is sacred to Bolshevism.

The most horrible caricatures insult Jesus Christ, the Pope, and priests. Here is an example: Our Lord shown seated on a box labeled "Money," putting His arm around a capitalist. Another one shows Our Lady and the Holy Child, Who is putting His hand on a crushed workingman's shoulder and exclaiming, "My yoke is sweet." Even the Holy Eucharist, celibacy, and in general all that is holy and religious is trampled upon. The subtle, anti-religious drawings in the rooms devoted to Mexico, Spain, South America, etc., explained very obviously why such horrible atrocities had occurred in Spain. People will hate a church depicted in such colors. Everywhere the Bolshevik propaganda is allied to anti-religious propaganda. Examples were given from France and England. The significance of Lenin's word of command was everywhere apparent: "Our plan of action essentially requires atheistic propaganda." . . .

We may draw two practical conclusions: First, we must preach the Church's function in her social crusade. It is clear that Bolshevik propaganda links the Church and capitalism and accuses them both of doing nothing for the poor. This is, of course, a horrible lie, but many millions believe it.

Second, this exhibition will prove to us the necessity of a deeper spirit of apostleship. If the communists will to win the world to communism, we must win it to Christianity.

Part III

The Christian Program

Previous Pronouncements of Pope Pius XI on Communism

LET all who love public prosperity and peace, who venerate the sanctity of the family and human dignity, seek with united forces to ward off from themselves and their fellow-citizens the grave and assured danger and evils with which Socialism and Communism threaten them, taking at the same time due concern and care for improving the condition of all the poor in general, and in particular that of working people."

Dec. 18, 1924.

"In conclusion, the Sacred Congregation invites both parties, employers and employed, to rise to thoughts and feelings of a higher order. The remarkable progress of Socialism and Communism, and the loss of faith among the working classes are undeniable facts that give rise to serious thought. Taking advantage of the real sufferings of the workers, Socialism and Communism have succeeded in making them believe that these doctrines alone are capable of promoting effectively their industrial, political, and social interests, and have established trade unions for them. Thus it has become urgent for all Catholics to unite their forces in opposition to so great an evil, which draws so many souls on to the road of eternal perdition and saps the bases of social order, thus preparing the ruin of nations and of states.

"Let then all discord be put aside; so that, with mutual concord, reciprocal confidence and above all with great charity, institutions may be established which draw their inspiration from Catholic principles and assure to the workers, together with their economic interests, the liberty to declare themselves Christians and the power to fulfill all their duties as such."

June 5, 1929.

"We do not think it necessary to warn upright and faithful children of the Church against the impious and nefarious character of Communism. But We cannot contemplate without

sorrow the heedlessness of those who seem to make light of these imminent dangers and with stolid indifference allow the propagation far and wide of those doctrines which seek by violence and bloodshed the destruction of all society. Even more severely must be condemned the foolhardiness of those who neglect to remove or modify such conditions as exasperate the minds of the people, and so prepare the way for the overthrow and ruin of the social order."

May 15, 1931.

"What a lamentable fact, Venerable Brethren and Beloved Children, that there have been, and that there are even now some who, while professing the Catholic Faith, are well nigh unmindful of that sublime law of justice and charity which binds us not only to give each man his due, but to succor our brethren as Christ Our Lord Himself; worse still, that there are those who out of greed for gain do not shame to oppress the workingman. Indeed there are some who even abuse religion itself, cloaking their own unjust impositions under its name, that they may protect themselves against the clearly just demands of their employees.

"We shall never desist from gravely censuring such conduct. Such men are the cause that the Church, without deserving it, may have the appearance and be accused of taking sides with the wealthy, and of being little moved by the needs and sufferings of the disinherited. That these appearances and these accusations are undeserved and unjust, the whole history of the Church clearly shows. The very Encyclical, the anniversary of which we are celebrating, affords the clearest evidences that these calumnies and contumelies have been most unfairly passed upon the Church and upon her teaching."

Quad. Anno, 1931.

"For God or against God, this once more is the alternative that shall decide the destinies of all mankind in politics,

in finance, in morals, in the sciences and arts, in the state, in civil and domestic society. In the East and in the West, everywhere this question confronts us as the deciding factor because of the consequences that flow from it. Thus even the advocates of an altogether materialistic conception of the world, always see rising before them the question of the existence of God, that they thought had been ruled out once and for all, are ever constrained to take up again its discussion.

"In the name of the Lord, therefore, We conjure individuals and nations, in the face of such problems and in the throes of a conflict of such vital interest for mankind, to put aside that narrow individualism and base egoism that binds even the most clear sighted, that withers up all noble initiative as soon as it is no longer confined to a limited circle of paltry and particular interests. Let them all unite together even at the cost of heavy sacrifices to save themselves and mankind."

May 3, 1932.

"As we have said, the economic crisis of the nations continues everywhere. From it suffer most of all the weak—the innocent children, first and tenderest flowers of this life, the sick and infirm, and even more, because of the greater burdens thrown upon them, the aged, already weary and weakened from the long journey. . . . But some there are who from this unrest and misery draw sad advantage and profit—those, namely, who oppose political, civil, and religious order. They stir up and promote war on human society, on our holy religion, indeed, on God Himself. The deadly insanity of their purposes which they diffuse everywhere, We all know; and the evils they have recently accomplished show only too well that they will strive with all their mind and strength to bring to completion their wicked plans and undertakings."

March 13, 1933.

"The extension and promotion of

the Holy Year to the whole world has been providential indeed, as is being attested continually everywhere.

"Providential was this prolongation of the Jubilee of the Redemption which to so many souls has been a true extension, propagation, and application of the Redemption itself, just at a time when currents contrary to the Redemption are being unloosed, currents that after 19 centuries of Redemption, of Christianity, of Christian life, of Christian civilization and salvation would seek a new moral paganism, a new social paganism, and one might say, a state paganism.

"Horrible things that cause truly the fear that something tragic, some dread response may come from the justice of God, from the mercy of God be-

come justice, to arouse those many souls who seem to sleep the sleep of death."

Dec. 24, 1934.

"We have heard sad voices, messengers of sad events; even still, now at this Christmastide, we continue to hear that voice—distant, it is true—that voice that, across vast regions and over many peoples continues to cry 'No God'; it cries out, forgetful even of the reserve, one might say the shame, within which the ancient denier of God limited himself. The fool hath said in his heart: 'There is no God.' But now the cry leaves the secret places even of the heart and has pierced the very atmosphere of nations and, graver still, has not been heard alone in the regions of its origin but has been wel-

comed also, although in limited circles, or at least repeated and seconded, in other countries."

Dec. 24, 1936.

"Indeed, too much care cannot be taken, today particularly, against Bolshevik conspiracies which have no other purpose than to sap the foundations of Christian order. Pastors and their flocks should be on guard: for the roaring lion goeth about seeking whom he may devour (*quarens quem devoret*). But the vigilance of the leaders and the fidelity of the blessed ranks of Catholic Action can present, in face of danger, a more united, more compact, more invincible form than ever."

April 2, 1936.

TO THE previous warnings from the success of Saint Peter is now added the masterful and comprehensive Encyclical on Atheistic Communism which we print herewith in its entirety. It is the cornerstone in the arch of Catholic doctrine respecting Communism. It will take its place among the great Papal pronouncements of this and every other age. It presents the fullness of Communist claims and the uncompromising reply of the Catholic Church. Taken in conjunction with "Quadragesimo Anno" it furnishes a complete program of constructive Catholic Action.

Pius XI, obviously, will take his place in history as the Pope of the Conciliation. He will likewise be distinguished as the Pope of Catholic Action and of great Encyclicals such as "Quadragesimo Anno." But in the opinion of the present writer, his early recognition of the danger to the world latent in Communism and Bolshevism will merit Pius XI a high place among the greatest Popes. As early as 1922 His Holiness took a definite stand by presenting to the powers assembled at the Genoa Conference a memorandum on the menace to human liberty in Soviet Russia together with a petition for guarantees from the Russian Government. Had the statesmen of Europe then heeded the warning and shown the same prudent foresight manifested by Pius XI, they would not today be faced by the ominous spectre of Communism endangering the peace of the world.

In this latest discharge of pastoral vigilance, Pius XI has remained true to the historic character and mission of his sacred office. With the long record of Christianity and its conflicts spread before him, he has detected the modern enemy with unerring intuition.

It would be a reckless world indeed that could ignore his warnings or underestimate the new Paganism which he has combated since 1924.

EDMUND A. WALSH, S.J.

Atheistic Communism

Encyclical Letter, Pope Pius XI, "Divini Redemptoris," March 19, 1937

To the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, and Other Ordinaries in Peace and Communion with the Apostolic See:

THE promise of a Redeemer brightens the first page of the history of mankind, and the confident hope aroused by this promise softened the keen regret for a paradise which had been lost. It was this hope that accompanied the human race on its weary journey, until in the fullness of time the expected Saviour came to begin a new universal civilization, the Christian civilization, far superior even to that which up to this time had been laboriously achieved by certain more privileged nations.

2. Nevertheless, the struggle between good and evil remained in the world as a sad legacy of the original fall. Nor has the ancient tempter ever ceased to deceive mankind with false promises. It is on this account that one convulsion following upon another has marked the passage of the centuries, down to the revolution of our own days. This modern revolution, it may be said, has actually broken out or threatens everywhere, and it exceeds in amplitude and violence anything yet experienced in the preceding persecutions launched against the Church. Entire peoples find themselves in danger of falling back into a barbarism worse than that which oppressed the greater part of the world at the coming of the Redeemer.

3. This all too imminent danger, Venerable Brethren, as you have already surmised, is bolshevistic and atheistic Communism, which aims at upsetting the social order and at under-

mining the very foundations of Christian civilization.

PREVIOUS CONDEMNATIONS

4. In the face of such a threat, the Catholic Church could not and does not remain silent. This Apostolic See, above, all, has not refrained from raising its voice, for it knows that its proper and social mission is to defend truth, justice, and all those eternal values which Communism ignores or

nounced a solemn condemnation, which he confirmed in the words of the *Syllabus* directed against "that infamous doctrine of so-called Communism which is absolutely contrary to the natural law itself, and if once adopted would utterly destroy the rights, property, and possessions of all men, and even society itself."¹ Later on, another of Our Predecessors, the immortal Leo XIII, in his Encyclical, *Quod Apostolici Muneris*,

defined Communism as "the fatal plague which insinuates itself into the very marrow of human society only to bring about its ruin."² With clear intuition he pointed out that the atheistic movements existing among the masses of the Machine Age had their origin in that school of philosophy which for centuries had sought to divorce science from the life of the Faith and of the Church.

ACTS OF PRESENT PONTIFICATE

5. During Our Pontificate We too have frequently and with urgent insistence denounced the current trend to atheism which is alarmingly on the increase. In 1924 when Our relief-mission returned from the Soviet Union We condemned Communism in a special Allocution³ which We addressed to the

whole world. In our Encyclicals, *Miserentissimus Redemptor*,⁴ *Quadrage-*

¹ Encycl. *Qui Pluribus*, Nov. 9, 1846 (*Acta Pii IX*, Vol. I, p. 13). Cf. *Syllabus*, IV, (A. A. S., vol. III, p. 170).

² Encycl. *Quod Apostolici Muneris*, Dec. 28, 1878 (*Acta Leonis XIII*, Vol. I, p. 46).

³ Dec. 18, 1924: A. A. S., Vol. XVI (1924), pp. 494, 495.

⁴ May 8, 1928: A. A. S., Vol. XX (1928), pp. 165-178.



attacks. Ever since the days when groups of "intellectuals" were formed in an arrogant attempt to free civilization from the bonds of morality and religion, Our Predecessors overtly and explicitly drew the attention of the world to the consequences of the de-Christianization of human society. With reference to Communism, Our Venerable Predecessor, Pius IX, of holy memory, as early as 1846 pro-

simo Anno,⁵ *Caritate Christi*,⁶ *Acerba Animi*,⁷ *Dilectissima Nobis*,⁸ We raised a solemn protest against the persecutions unleashed in Russia, in Mexico, and now in Spain. Our two Allocutions of last year, the first on the occasion of the opening of the International Catholic Press Exposition, and the second during Our audience to the Spanish refugees, along with Our message of last Christmas, have evoked a world-wide echo which is not yet spent. In fact, the most persistent enemies of the Church, who from Moscow are directing the struggle against Christian civilization, themselves bear witness, by their unceasing attacks in word and act, that even to this hour the Papacy has continued faithfully to protect the sanctuary of the Christian religion, and that it has called public attention to the perils of Communism more frequently and more effectively than any other public authority on earth.

NEED OF ANOTHER SOLEMN PRONOUNCEMENT

6. To Our great satisfaction, Venerable Brethren, you have, by means of individual and even joint pastoral Letters, accurately transmitted and explained to the Faithful these admonitions. Yet despite Our frequent and paternal warning the peril only grows greater from day to day because of the pressure exerted by clever agitators. Therefore We believe it to be Our duty to raise Our voice once more, in a still more solemn missive, in accord with the tradition of this Apostolic See, the Teacher of Truth, and in accord with the desire of the whole Catholic world, which makes the appearance of such a document but natural. We trust that the echo of Our voice will reach every mind free from prejudice and every heart sincerely desirous of the good of mankind. We wish this the more because Our words are now receiving sorry confirmation from the spectacle of the bitter fruits of subversive ideas, which We foresaw and foretold, and which are in fact multiplying fearfully in the countries already stricken or threatening every other country of the world.

7. Hence We wish to expose once more in a brief synthesis the principles of atheistic Communism as they are manifested chiefly in bolshevism.

We wish also to indicate its method of action and to contrast with its false principles the clear doctrine of the Church, in order to inculcate anew and with greater insistence the means by which the Christian civilization, the true *civitas humana*, can be saved from the satanic scourge, and not merely saved, but better developed for the well-being of human society.

DOCTRINE

False Ideal

8. The Communism of today, more emphatically than similar movements in the past, conceals in itself a false messianic idea. A pseudo-ideal of justice, of equality and fraternity in labor impregnates all its doctrine and activity with a deceptive mysticism, which communicates a zealous and contagious enthusiasm to the multitudes entrapped by delusive promises. This is especially true in an age like ours, when unusual misery has resulted from the unequal distribution of the goods of this world. This pseudo-ideal is even boastfully advanced as if it were responsible for a certain economic progress. As a matter of fact, when such progress is at all real, its true causes are quite different, as for instance the intensification of industrialism in countries which were formerly almost without it, the exploitation of immense natural resources, and the use of the most brutal methods to insure the achievement of gigantic projects with a minimum of expense.

Marxist Evolutionary Materialism

9. The doctrine of modern Communism, which is often concealed under the most seductive trappings, is in substance based on the principles of dialectical and historical materialism previously advocated by Marx, of which the theoreticians of bolshevism claim to possess the only genuine interpretation. According to this doctrine there is in the world only one reality, matter, the blind forces of which evolve into plant, animal and man. Even human society is nothing but a phenomenon and form of matter, evolving in the same way. By a law of inexorable necessity and through a perpetual conflict of forces, matter moves towards the final synthesis of a classless society. In such a doctrine, as is evident, there is no room for the idea of God; there is no difference between matter and spirit, between soul and body; there is neither survival of the soul after death nor any hope in a future life. Insisting on the dialectical aspect of their materialism, the Communists claim that the conflict which carries the world towards its final synthesis can be accelerated by man. Hence they en-

deavor to sharpen the antagonisms which arise between the various classes of society. Thus the class-struggle with its consequent violent hate and destruction takes on the aspects of a crusade for the progress of humanity. On the other hand, all other forces whatever, as long as they resist such systematic violence, must be annihilated as hostile to the human race.

Man and the Family Under Communism

10. Communism, moreover, strips man of his liberty, robs human personality of all its dignity, and removes all the moral restraints that check the eruptions of blind impulse. There is no recognition of any right of the individual in his relations to the collectivity; no natural right is accorded to human personality, which is a mere cog-wheel in the Communist system. In man's relations with other individuals, besides, Communists hold the principle of absolute equality, rejecting all hierarchy and divinely-constituted authority, including the authority of parents. What men call authority and subordination is derived from the community as its first and only font. Nor is the individual granted any property rights over material goods or the means of production, for inasmuch as these are the source of further wealth, their possession would give one man power over another. Precisely on this score, all forms of private property must be eradicated, for they are at the origin of all economic enslavement.

11. Refusing to human life any sacred or spiritual character, such a doctrine logically makes of marriage and the family a purely artificial and civil institution, the outcome of a specific economic system. There exists no matrimonial bond of a juridico-moral nature that is not subject to the whim of the individual or of the collectivity. Naturally, therefore, the notion of an indissoluble marriage-tie is scouted. Communism is particularly characterized by the rejection of any link that binds woman to the family and the home, and her emancipation is proclaimed as a basic principle. She is withdrawn from the family and the care of her children, to be thrust instead into public life and collective production under the same conditions as man. The care of home and children then devolves upon the collectivity. Finally, the right of education is denied to parents, for it is conceived as the exclusive prerogative of the community, in whose name and by whose mandate alone parents may exercise this right.

⁵ May 15, 1931: A. A. S., Vol. XXIII (1931), pp. 177-228.

⁶ May 3, 1932: A. A. S., Vol. XXIV (1932), pp. 177-194.

⁷ Sept. 29, 1932: A. A. S., Vol. XXIV (1932), pp. 321-332.

⁸ June 3, 1933: A. A. S., Vol. XXV (1933), pp. 261-274.

Communist Society

12. What would be the condition of a human society based on such materialistic tenets? It would be a collectivity with no other hierarchy than that of the economic system. It would have only one mission: the production of material things by means of collective labor so that the goods of this world might be enjoyed in a paradise where each would "give according to his powers" and would "receive according to his needs." Communism recognizes in the collectivity the right, or rather, unlimited discretion, to draft individuals for the labor of the collectivity with no regard for their personal welfare; so that even violence could be legitimately exercised to dragoon the recalcitrant against their wills. In the Communistic commonwealth morality and law would be nothing but a derivation of the existing economic order, purely earthly in origin and unstable in character. In a word, the Communists claim to inaugurate a new era and a new civilization which is the result of blind evolutionary forces culminating in a humanity without God.

13. When all men have finally acquired the collectivist mentality in this Utopia of a really classless society, the political State, which is now conceived by Communists merely as the instrument by which the proletariat is oppressed by the capitalists, will have lost all reason for its existence and will "wither away." However, until that happy consummation is realized, the State and the powers of the State furnish Communism with the most efficacious and most extensive means for the achievement of its goal.

14. Such, Venerable Brethren, is the new gospel which bolshevistic and atheistic Communism offers the world as the glad tidings of deliverance and salvation! It is a system full of errors and sophisms. It is in opposition both to reason and to Divine Revelation. It subverts the social order, because it means the destruction of its foundations; because it ignores the true origin and purpose of the State; because it denies the rights, dignity and liberty of human personality.

Alluring Promises

15. How is it possible that such a system, long since rejected scientifically and now proved erroneous by experience, how is it, We ask, that such a system could spread so rapidly in all parts of the world? The explanation lies in the fact that too few have been able to grasp the nature of Communism. The majority instead succumb to its deception, skilfully concealed by the most extravagant promises. By

pretending to desire only the betterment of the condition of the working classes, by urging the removal of the very real abuses chargeable to the liberalistic economic order, and by demanding a more equitable distribution of this world's goods (objectives entirely and undoubtedly legitimate), the Communist takes advantage of the present world-wide economic crisis to draw into the sphere of his influence even those sections of the populace which on principle reject all forms of materialism and terrorism. And as every error contains its element of truth, the partial truths to which We have referred are astutely presented according to the needs of time and place, to conceal, when convenient, the repulsive crudity and inhumanity of Communistic principles and tactics. Thus the Communist ideal wins over many of the better-minded members of the community. These in turn become the apostles of the movement among the younger intelligentsia who are still too immature to recognize the intrinsic errors of the system. The preachers of Communism are also proficient in exploiting racial antagonisms and political divisions and oppositions. They take advantage of the lack of orientation characteristic of modern agnostic science in order to burrow into the universities, where they bolster up the principles of their doctrine with pseudo-scientific arguments.

Liberalism Prepares the Way

16. If we would explain the blind acceptance of Communism by so many thousands of workmen, we must remember that the way had been already prepared for it by the religious and moral destitution in which wage-earners had been left by liberal economics. Even on Sundays and holy days, labor-shifts were given no time to attend to their essential religious duties. No one thought of building churches within convenient distance of factories, nor of facilitating the work of the priest. On the contrary, laicism was actively and persistently promoted, with the result that we are now reaping the fruits of the errors so often denounced by Our Predecessors and by Ourselves. It can surprise no one that the Communistic fallacy should be spreading in a world already to a large extent de-Christianized.

Shrewd and Widespread Propaganda

17. There is another explanation for the rapid diffusion of the Communistic ideas now seeping into every nation, great and small, advanced and backward, so that no corner of the earth is free from them. This explanation is to be found in a propaganda so truly

diabolical that the world has perhaps never witnessed its like before. It is directed from one common center. It is shrewdly adapted to the varying conditions of diverse peoples. It has at its disposal great financial resources, gigantic organizations, international congresses, and countless trained workers. It makes use of pamphlets and reviews, of cinema, theater and radio, of schools and even universities. Little by little it penetrates into all classes of the people and even reaches the better-minded groups of the community, with the result that few are aware of the poison which increasingly pervades their minds and hearts.

Silence of the Press

18. A third powerful factor in the diffusion of Communism is the conspiracy of silence on the part of a large section of the non-Catholic press of the world. We say conspiracy, because it is impossible otherwise to explain how a press usually so eager to exploit even the little daily incidents of life has been able to remain silent for so long about the horrors perpetrated in Russia, in Mexico and even in a great part of Spain; and that it should have relatively so little to say concerning a world organization as vast as Russian Communism. This silence is due in part to short-sighted political policy, and is favored by various occult forces which for a long time have been working for the overthrow of the Christian Social Order.

Russia and Mexico

19. Meanwhile the sorry effects of this propaganda are before our eyes. Where Communism has been able to assert its power—and here We are thinking with special affection of the people of Russia and Mexico—it has striven by every possible means, as its champions openly boast, to destroy Christian civilization and the Christian religion by banishing every remembrance of them from the hearts of men, especially of the young. Bishops and priests were exiled, condemned to forced labor, shot and done to death in inhuman fashion; laymen suspected of defending their religion were vexed, persecuted, dragged off to trial and thrown into prison.

Horrors of Communism in Spain

20. Even where the scourage of Communism has not yet had time enough to exercise to the full its logical effect, as witness Our beloved Spain, it has, alas, found compensation in the fiercer violence of its attack. Not only this or that church or isolated monastery was sacked, but as far as possible every church and every mon-

astery was destroyed. Every vestige of the Christian religion was eradicated, even though intimately linked with the rarest monuments of art and science. The fury of Communism has not confined itself to the indiscriminate slaughter of Bishops, of thousands of priests and religious of both sexes; it searches out above all those who have been devoting their lives to the welfare of the working classes and the poor. But the majority of its victims have been laymen of all conditions and classes. Even up to the present moment, masses of them are slain almost daily for no other offense than the fact that they are good Christians or at least opposed to atheistic Communism. And this fearful destruction has been carried out with a hatred and a savage barbarity one would not have believed possible in our age. No man of good sense, nor any statesman conscious of his responsibility can fail to shudder at the thought that what is happening today in Spain may perhaps be repeated tomorrow in other civilized countries.

Logical Result of System

21. Nor can it be said that these atrocities are a transitory phenomenon, the usual accompaniment of all great revolutions, the isolated excesses common to every war. No, they are the natural fruit of a system which lacks all inner restraint. Some restraint is necessary for man considered either as an individual or in society. Even the barbaric peoples had this inner check in the natural law written by God in the heart of every man. And where this natural law was held in higher esteem, ancient nations rose to a grandeur that still fascinates—more than it should—certain superficial students of human history. But tear the very idea of God from the hearts of men, and they are necessarily urged by their passions to the most atrocious barbarity.

Struggle Against All That Is Divine

22. This, unfortunately is what we now behold. For the first time in history we are witnessing a struggle, cold-blooded in purpose and mapped out to the least detail, between man and "all that is called God."⁹ Communism is by its nature anti-religious. It considers religion as "the opiate of the people" because the principles of religion which speak of a life beyond the grave dissuade the proletariat from the dream of a Soviet paradise which is of this world.

⁹ Cf. *Thessalonians*, II, 4.

Terrorism

23. But the law of nature and its Author cannot be flouted with impunity. Communism has not been able, and will not be able, to achieve its objectives even in the merely economic sphere. It is true that in Russia it has been a contributing factor in rousing men and materials from the inertia of centuries, and in obtaining by all manner of means, often without scruple, some measure of material success. Nevertheless We know from reliable and even very recent testimony that not even there, in spite of slavery imposed on millions of men, has Communism reached its promised goal. After all, even the sphere of economics needs some morality, some moral sense of responsibility, which can find no place in a system so thoroughly materialistic as Communism. Terrorism is the only possible substitute, and it is terrorism that reigns today in Russia, where former comrades in revolution are exterminating each other. Terrorism, having failed despite all to stem the tide of moral corruption, cannot even prevent the dissolution of society itself.

24. In making these observations it is no part of Our intention to condemn *en masse* the peoples of the Soviet Union. For them We cherish the warmest paternal affection. We are well aware that not a few of them groan beneath the yoke imposed on them by men who in very large part are strangers to the real interests of the country. We recognize that many others were deceived by fallacious hopes. We blame only the system, with its authors and abettors who considered Russia the best-prepared field for experimenting with a plan elaborated decades ago, and who from there continue to spread it from one end of the world to the other.

25. We have exposed the errors and the violent, deceptive tactics of bolshevistic and atheistic Communism. It is now time, Venerable Brethren, to contrast with it the true notion, already familiar to you, of the *civitas humana* or human society, as taught by reason and Revelation through the mouth of the Church, *Magistra Gentium*.

GOD THE SUPREME REALITY

26. Above all other reality there exists one supreme Being: God, the omnipotent Creator of all things, the all-wise and just Judge of all men. This supreme reality, God, is the absolute condemnation of the impudent falsehoods of Communism. In truth, it is not because men believe in God that He exists; rather because He exists do all men whose eyes are not

deliberately closed to the truth believe in Him and pray to Him.

MAN AND FAMILY ACCORDING TO REASON AND FAITH

27. In the Encyclical on Christian Education¹⁰ We explained the fundamental doctrine concerning man as it may be gathered from reason and Faith. Man has a spiritual and immortal soul. He is a person, marvelously endowed by his Creator with gifts of body and mind. He is a true "microcosm," as the ancients said, a world in miniature, with a value far surpassing that of the vast inanimate cosmos. God alone is his last end, in this life and the next. By sanctifying grace he is raised to the dignity of a son of God, and incorporated into the Kingdom of God in the Mystical Body of Christ. In consequence he has been endowed by God with many and varied prerogatives: the right to life, to bodily integrity, to the necessary means of existence; the right to tend toward his ultimate goal in the path marked out for him by God; the right of association and the right to possess and use property.

28. Just as matrimony and the right to its natural use are of divine origin, so likewise are the constitution and fundamental prerogatives of the family fixed and determined by the Creator. In the Encyclical on Christian Marriage¹¹ and in Our other Encyclical on Education, cited above, we have treated these topics at considerable length.

Mutual Rights and Duties

29. But God has likewise destined man for civil society according to the dictates of his very nature. In the plan of the Creator, society is a natural means which man can and must use to reach his destined end. Society is for man and not vice versa. This must not be understood in the sense of liberalistic individualism, which subordinates society to the selfish use of the individual; but only in the sense that by means of an organic union with society and by mutual collaboration the attainment of earthly happiness is placed within the reach of all. In a further sense, it is society which affords the opportunities for the development of all the individual and social gifts bestowed on human nature. These natural gifts have a value surpassing the immediate interests of the moment, for in society they reflect the divine perfection, which would not be true were man to live alone. But on final analysis, even in this latter function,

¹⁰ Encycl. *Divini Illius Magistri*, Dec. 31, 1929 (A. A. S., Vol. XXII, 1930, pp. 49-86).

¹¹ Encycl. *Casti Connubii*, Dec. 31, 1930 (A. A. S., Vol. XXII, 1930, pp. 539-592).

society is made for man, that he may recognize this reflection of God's perfection, and refer it in praise and adoration to the Creator. Only man, the human person, and not society in any form is endowed with reason and a morally free will.

30. Man cannot be exempted from his divinely imposed obligations toward civil society, and the representatives of authority have the right to coerce him when he refuses without reason to do his duty. Society, on the other hand, cannot defraud man of his God-granted rights, the most important of which We have indicated above. Nor can society systematically void these rights by making their use impossible. It is therefore according to the dictates of reason that ultimately all material things should be ordained to man as a person, that through his mediation they may find their way to the Creator. In this wise we can apply to man, the human person, the words of the Apostle of the Gentiles, who writes to the Corinthians on the Christian economy of salvation: "All things are yours, and you are Christ's, and Christ is God's."¹² While Communism impoverishes human personality by inverting the terms of the relation of man to society, to what lofty heights is man not elevated by reason and Revelation!

Social-Economic Order

31. The directive principles concerning the social-economic order have been expounded in the social Encyclical of Leo XIII on the question of labor.¹³ Our own Encyclical on the Reconstruction of the Social Order¹⁴ adapted these principles to present needs. Then insisting anew on the age-old doctrine of the Church concerning the individual and social character of private property, We explained clearly the right and dignity of labor, the relations of mutual aid and collaboration which should exist between those who possess capital and those who work, the salary due in strict justice to the worker for himself and for his family.

32. In this same Encyclical of Ours We have shown that the means of saving the world of today from the lamentable ruin into which a moral liberalism has plunged us, are neither the class-struggle nor terror, nor yet the autocratic abuse of State power, but rather the infusion of social justice and the sentiment of Christian love into the social-economic order. We

have indicated how a sound prosperity is to be restored according to the true principles of a sane cooperative system which respects the proper hierarchic structure of society; and how all the occupational groups should be fused into a harmonious unity inspired by the principle of the common good. And the genuine and chief function of public and civil authority consists precisely in the efficacious furthering of this harmony and coordination of all social forces.

Social Hierarchy and State Prerogatives

33. In view of this organized common effort towards peaceful living, Catholic doctrine vindicates to the State the dignity and authority of a vigilant and provident defender of those divine and human rights on which the Sacred Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church insist so often. It is not true that all have equal rights in civil society. It is not true that there exists no lawful social hierarchy. Let it suffice to refer to the Encyclicals of Leo XIII already cited, especially to that on State powers,¹⁵ and to the other on the Christian Constitution of States.¹⁶ In these documents the Catholic will find the principles of reason and the Faith clearly explained, and these principles will enable him to defend himself against the errors and perils of a Communistic conception of the State. The enslavement of man despoiled of his rights, the denial of the transcendental origin of the State and its authority, the horrible abuse of public power in the service of a collectivistic terrorism, are the very contrary of all that corresponds with natural ethics and the will of the Creator. Both man and civil society derive their origin from the Creator, Who has mutually ordained them one to the other. Hence neither can be exempted from their correlative obligations, nor deny or diminish each other's rights. The Creator Himself has regulated this mutual relationship in its fundamental lines, and it is by an unjust usurpation that Communism arrogates to itself the right to enforce, in place of the divine law based on the immutable principles of truth and charity, a partisan political program which derives from the arbitrary human will and is replete with hate.

34. In teaching this enlightening doctrine the Church has no other intention than to realize the glad tidings sung by the Angels above the cave of Bethlehem at the Redeemer's birth:

¹⁵ Encycl. *Diuturnum Illud*, June 20, 1881 (*Acta Leonis XIII*, Vol. I, pp. 210-222).

¹⁶ Encycl. *Immortale Dei*, Nov. 1, 1885 (*Acta Leonis XIII*, Vol. II, pp. 146-168).

"Glory to God . . . and . . . peace to men . . .,"¹⁷ true peace and true happiness, even here below as far as is possible, in preparation for the happiness of heaven—but to men of good will. This doctrine is equally removed from all extremes of error and all exaggerations of parties or systems which stem from error. It maintains a constant equilibrium of truth and justice, which it vindicates in theory and applies and promotes in practice, bringing into harmony the rights and duties of all parties. Thus authority is reconciled with liberty, the dignity of the individual with that of the State, the human personality of the subject with the divine delegation of the superior; and in this way a balance is struck between the due dependence and well-ordered love of a man for himself, his family and country, and his love of other families and other peoples, founded on the love of God, the Father of all, their first principle and last end. The Church does not separate a proper regard for temporal welfare from solicitude for the eternal. If she subordinates the former to the latter according to the words of her divine Founder, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you,"¹⁸ she is nevertheless so far from being unconcerned with human affairs, so far from hindering civil progress and material advancement, that she actually fosters and promotes them in the most sensible and efficacious manner. Thus even in the sphere of social-economics, although the Church has never proposed a definite technical system, since this is not her field, she has nevertheless clearly outlined the guiding principles which, while susceptible of varied concrete applications according to the diversified conditions of times and places and peoples, indicate the safe way of securing the happy progress of society.

35. The wisdom and supreme utility of this doctrine are admitted by all who really understand it. With good reason outstanding statesmen have asserted that after a study of various social systems, they have found nothing sounder than the principles expounded in the Encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*. In non-Catholic, even in non-Christian countries, men recognize the great value to society of the social doctrine of the Church. Thus, scarcely a month ago, an eminent political figure of the Far East, a non-Christian, did not hesitate to affirm publicly that the Church, with her doctrine of peace and Christian brotherhood, is render-

¹⁷ ST. LUKE, II, 14.

¹⁸ ST. MATTHEW, VI, 33.

¹² I Corinthians, III, 23.

¹³ Encycl. *Rerum Novarum*, May 15, 1891 (*Acta Leonis XIII*, Vol. IV, pp. 177-209).

¹⁴ Encycl. *Quadragesimo Anno*, May 15, 1931 (A. A. S., Vol. XXIII, 1931, pp. 177-228).

ing a signal contribution to the difficult task of establishing and maintaining peace among the nations. Finally, We know from reliable information that flows into this Center of Christendom from all parts of the world, that the Communists themselves, where they are not utterly depraved, recognize the superiority of the social doctrine of the Church when once explained to them, over the doctrines of their leaders and their teachers. Only those blinded by passion and hatred close their eyes to the light of truth and obstinately struggle against it.

36. But the enemies of the Church, though forced to acknowledge the wisdom of her doctrine, accuse her of having failed to act in conformity with her principles, and from this conclude to the necessity of seeking other solutions. The utter falseness and injustice of this accusation is shown by the whole history of Christianity. To refer only to a single typical trait, it was Christianity that first affirmed the real and universal brotherhood of all men of whatever race and condition. This doctrine she proclaimed by a method, and with an amplitude and conviction, unknown to preceding centuries; and with it she potently contributed to the abolition of slavery. Not bloody revolution, but the inner force of her teaching made the proud Roman matron see in her slave a sister in Christ. It is Christianity that adores the Son of God, made Man for love of man, and become not only the "Son of a Carpenter" but Himself a "Carpenter."¹⁹ It was Christianity that raised manual labor to its true dignity, whereas it had hitherto been so despised that even the moderate Cicero did not hesitate to sum up the general opinion of his time in words of which any modern sociologist would be ashamed: "All artisans are engaged in sordid trades, for there can be nothing ennobling about a workshop."²⁰

37. Faithful to these principles, the Church has given new life to human society. Under her influence arose prodigious charitable organizations, great guilds of artisans and workmen of every type. These guilds, ridiculed as "medieval" by the liberalism of the last century, are today claiming the admiration of our contemporaries in many countries who are endeavoring to revive them in some modern form. And when other systems hindered her work and raised obstacles to the salutary influence of the Church, she was never done warning them of their error. We need but

recall with what constant firmness and energy Our Predecessor, Leo XIII, vindicated for the workingman the right to organize, which the dominant liberalism of the more powerful States relentlessly denied him. Even today the authority of this Church doctrine is greater than it seems; for the influence of ideas in the realm of facts, though invisible and not easily measured, is surely of predominant importance.

38. It may be said in all truth that the Church, like Christ, goes through the centuries doing good to all. There would be today neither Socialism nor Communism if the rulers of the nations had not scorned the teachings and material warnings of the Church. On the bases of liberalism and laicism they wished to build other social edifices which, powerful and imposing as they seemed at first, all too soon revealed the weakness of their foundations, and today are crumbling one after another before our eyes, as everything must crumble that is not grounded on the one corner stone which is Christ Jesus.

URGENT NEED FOR ACTION

39. This, Venerable Brethren, is the doctrine of the Church, which alone in the social as in all other fields can offer real light and assure salvation in the face of Communistic ideology. But this doctrine must be consistently reduced to practice in every-day life, according to the admonition of St. James the Apostle: "Be ye doers of the word and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves."²¹ The most urgent need of the present day is therefore the energetic and timely application of remedies which will effectively ward off the catastrophe that daily grows more threatening. We cherish the firm hope that the fanaticism with which the sons of darkness work day and night at their materialistic and atheistic propaganda will at least serve the holy purpose of stimulating the sons of light to a like and even greater zeal for the honor of the Divine Majesty.

40. What then must be done, what remedies must be employed to defend Christ and Christian civilization from this pernicious enemy? As a father in the midst of his family, We should like to speak quite intimately of those duties which the great struggle of our day imposes on all the children of the Church; and We would address Our paternal admonition even to those sons who have strayed far from her.

Fundamental Remedy

41. As in all the stormy periods of the history of the Church, the funda-

mental remedy today lies in a sincere renewal of private and public life according to the principles of the Gospel by all those who belong to the Fold of Christ, that they may be in truth the salt of the earth to preserve human society from total corruption.

42. With heart deeply grateful to the Father of Light, from Whom descends "every best gift and every perfect gift,"²² We see on all sides consoling signs of this spiritual renewal. We see it not only in so many singularly chosen souls who in these last years have been elevated to the sublime heights of sanctity, and in so many others who with generous hearts are making their way towards the same luminous goal, but also in the new flowering of a deep and practical piety in all classes of society even the most cultured, as We pointed out in Our recent Motu Proprio *In multis solaciis* of October 28 last, on the occasion of the reorganization of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences.²³

43. Nevertheless We cannot deny that there is still much to be done in the way of spiritual renovation. Even in Catholic countries there are still too many who are Catholics hardly more than in name. There are too many who fulfill more or less faithfully the more essential obligations of the religion they boast of professing, but have no desire of knowing it better, of deepening their inward conviction, and still less of bringing into conformity with the external gloss the inner splendor of a right and unsullied conscience, that recognizes and performs all its duties under the eye of God. We know how much Our Divine Saviour detested this empty pharisaic show, He Who wished that all should adore the Father "in spirit and in truth."²⁴ The Catholic who does not live really and sincerely according to the Faith he professes will not long be master of himself in these days when the winds of strife and persecution blow so fiercely, but will be swept away defenseless in this new deluge which threatens the world. And thus, while he is preparing his own ruin, he is exposing to ridicule the very name of Christian.

Detachment From Worldly Goods

44. And here We wish, Venerable Brethren, to insist more particularly on two teachings of Our Lord which have a special bearing on the present condition of the human race: detachment from earthly goods and the precept of charity. "Blessed are the poor

¹⁹ Cf. ST. MATTHEW, XIII, 55; ST. MARK, VI, 3.

²⁰ Cicero, *De Officiis*, Bk. I, c. 42.

²¹ ST. JAMES, I, 22.

²² ST. JAMES, I, 17.

²³ A. A. S., vol. XXVIII (1936); pp. 421-424.

²⁴ ST. JOHN, IV, 23.

in spirit" were the first words that fell from the lips of the Divine Master in His sermon on the mount.²⁵ This lesson is more than ever necessary in these days of materialism athirst for the goods and pleasures of this earth. All Christians, rich or poor, must keep their eye fixed on heaven, remembering that "we have not here a lasting city, but we seek one that is to come."²⁶ The rich should not place their happiness in things of earth nor spend their best efforts in the acquisition of them. Rather, considering themselves only as stewards of their earthly goods, let them be mindful of the account they must render of them to their Lord and Master, and value them as precious means that God has put into their hands for doing good; let them not fail, besides, to distribute of their abundance to the poor, according to the evangelical precept.²⁷ Otherwise there shall be verified of them and their riches the harsh condemnation of St. James the Apostle: "Go to now, ye rich men; weep and howl in your miseries which shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten; your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be for a testimony against you and shall eat your flesh like fire. You have stored up to yourselves wrath against the last days."

²⁸ 45. But the poor too, in their turn, while engaged, according to the laws of charity and justice, in acquiring the necessities of life and also in bettering their condition, should always remain "poor in spirit,"²⁹ and hold spiritual goods in higher esteem than earthly property and pleasures. Let them remember that the world will never be able to rid itself of misery, sorrow and tribulation, which are the portion even of those who seem most prosperous. Patience, therefore, is the need of all, that Christian patience which comforts the heart with the divine assurance of eternal happiness. "Be patient, therefore, brethren," we repeat with St. James, "until the coming of the Lord. Behold the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, patiently bearing until he receive the early and the later rain. Be you therefore also patient and strengthen your hearts for the coming of the Lord is at hand."³⁰ Only thus will be fulfilled the consoling promise of the Lord: "Blessed are the poor!" These words are no vain consolation, a promise as empty as

those of the Communists. They are the words of life, pregnant with a sovereign reality. They are fully verified here on earth, as well as in eternity. Indeed, how many of the poor, in anticipation of the Kingdom of Heaven, already proclaimed their own: "for yours is the Kingdom of Heaven,"³¹ find in these words a happiness which so many of the wealthy, uneasy with their riches and ever thirsting for more, look for in vain!

Christian Charity

46. Still more important as a remedy for the evil we are considering, or certainly more directly calculated to cure it, is the precept of charity. We have in mind that Christian charity, "patient and kind,"³² which avoids all semblance of demeaning paternalism, and all ostentation; that charity which from the very beginning of Christianity won to Christ the poorest of the poor, the slaves. And We are grateful to all those members of charitable associations, from the conferences of St. Vincent de Paul to the recent great relief-organizations, which are perseveringly practicing the spiritual and corporal works of mercy. The more the workingmen and the poor realize what the spirit of love animated by the virtue of Christ is doing for them, the more readily will they abandon the false persuasion that Christianity has lost its efficacy and that the Church stands on the side of the exploiters of their labor.

47. But when on the one hand We see thousands of the needy, victims of real misery for various reasons beyond their control, and on the other so many round about them who spend huge sums of money on useless things and frivolous amusement, We cannot fail to remark with sorrow not only that justice is poorly observed, but that the precept of charity also is not sufficiently appreciated, is not a vital thing in daily life. We desire therefore, Venerable Brethren, that this divine precept, this precious mark of identification left by Christ to His true disciples, be ever more fully explained by pen and word of mouth; this precept which teaches us to see in those who suffer Christ Himself, and would have us love our brothers as Our Divine Saviour has loved us, that is, even at the sacrifice of ourselves, and, if need be, of our very life. Let all then frequently meditate on those words of the final sentence, so consoling yet so terrifying, which the Supreme Judge will pronounce on the day of the Last Judgment: "Come, ye blessed of my Father . . . for I was hungry and

you gave me to eat; I was thirsty and you gave me to drink . . . Amen, I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren you did it to me."³³ And the reverse: "Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire . . . for I was hungry and you gave me not to eat; I was thirsty and you gave me not to drink. . . . Amen, I say to you, as long as you did it not to one of these least, neither did you do it to me."³⁴

48. To be sure of eternal life, therefore, and to be able to help the poor effectively, it is imperative to return to a more moderate way of life, to renounce the joys, often sinful, which the world today holds out in such abundance; to forget self for love of the neighbor. There is a divine regenerating force in this "new precept" (as Christ called it) of Christian charity.³⁵ Its faithful observance will pour into the heart an inner peace which the world knows not, and will finally cure the ills which oppress humanity.

Duties of Strict Justice

49. But charity will never be true charity unless it takes justice into constant account. The Apostle teaches that "he that loveth his neighbor hath fulfilled the law" and he gives the reason: "For, *Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal* . . . and if there be any other commandment, it is comprised in this word: *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself*."³⁶ According to the Apostle, then, all the commandments, including those which are of strict justice, as those which forbid us to kill or to steal, may be reduced to the single precept of true charity. From this it follows that a "charity" which deprives the workingman of the salary to which he has a strict title in justice, is not charity at all, but only its empty name and hollow semblance. The wage-earner is not to receive as alms what is his due in justice. And let no one attempt with trifling charitable donations to exempt himself from the great duties imposed by justice. Both justice and charity often dictate obligations touching on the same subject-matter, but under different aspects; and the very dignity of the workingman makes him justly and acutely sensitive to the duties of others in this regard.

50. Therefore We turn again in a special way to you, Christian employers and industrialists, whose problem is often so difficult for the reason that you are saddled with the heavy her-

²⁵ ST. MATTHEWS, V, 3.

²⁶ HEBREWS, XIII, 14.

²⁷ ST. LUKE, XI, 41.

²⁸ ST. JAMES, V, 1-3.

²⁹ ST. MATTHEW, V, 3.

³⁰ ST. JAMES, V, 7, 8.

³¹ ST. LUKE, VI, 20.

³² I CORINTHIANS, XIII, 4.

³³ ST. MATTHEW, XXV, 34-40.

³⁴ ST. MATTHEW, XXV, 41-45.

³⁵ ST. JOHN, XIII, 34.

³⁶ ROMANS, XIII, 8, 9.

age of an unjust economic regime whose ruinous influence has been felt through many generations. We bid you be mindful of your responsibility. It is unfortunately true that the manner of acting in certain Catholic circles has done much to shake the faith of the working-classes in the religion of Jesus Christ. These groups have refused to understand that Christian charity demands the recognition of certain rights due to the workingman, which the Church has explicitly acknowledged. What is to be thought of the action of those Catholic employers who in one place succeeded in preventing the reading of Our Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* in their local churches? Or of those Catholic industrialists who even to this day have shown themselves hostile to a labor movement that We Ourselves recommended? Is it not deplorable that the right of private property defended by the Church should so often have been used as a weapon to defraud the workingman of his just salary and his social rights?

Social Justice

51. In reality, besides commutative justice, there is also social justice with its own set obligations, from which neither employers nor workingmen can escape. Now it is of the very essence of social justice to demand from each individual all that is necessary for the common good. But just as in the living organism it is impossible to provide for the good of the whole unless each single part and each individual member is given what it needs for the exercise of its proper functions, so it is impossible to care for the social organism and the good of society as a unit unless each single part and each individual member—that is to say, each individual man in the dignity of his human personality—is supplied with all that is necessary for the exercise of his social functions. If social justice be satisfied, the result will be an intense activity in economic life as a whole, pursued in tranquillity and order. This activity will be proof of the health of the social body, just as the health of the human body is recognized in the undisturbed regularity and perfect efficiency of the whole organism.

52. But social justice cannot be said to have been satisfied as long as workingmen are denied a salary that will enable them to secure proper sustenance for themselves and for their families; as long as they are denied the opportunity of acquiring a modest fortune and forestalling the plague of universal pauperism; as long as they cannot make suitable provision through

public or private insurance for old age, for periods of illness and unemployment. In a word, to repeat what has been said in Our Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*: "Then only will the economic and social order be soundly established and attain its ends, when it offers, to all and to each, all those goods which the wealth and resources of nature, technical science and the corporate organization of social affairs can give. These goods should be sufficient to supply all necessities and reasonable comforts, and to uplift men to that higher standard of life which, provided it be used with prudence, is not only not a hindrance but is of singular help to virtue."³⁷

53. It happens all too frequently, however, under the salary system, that individual employers are helpless to ensure justice unless, with a view to its practice, they organize institutions the object of which is to prevent competition incompatible with fair treatment for the workers. Where this is true, it is the duty of contractors and employers to support and promote such necessary organizations as normal instruments enabling them to fulfill their obligations of justice. But the laborers too must be mindful of their duty to love and deal fairly with their employers, and persuade themselves that there is no better means of safeguarding their own interests.

54. If, therefore, We consider the whole structure of economic life, as We have already pointed out in Our Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, the reign of mutual collaboration between justice and charity in social-economic relations can only be achieved by a body of professional and interprofessional organizations, built on solidly Christian foundations, working together to effect, under forms adapted to different places and circumstances, what has been called the Corporation.

55. To give to this social activity a greater efficacy, it is necessary to promote a wider study of social problems in the light of the doctrine of the Church and under the aegis of her constituted authority. If the manner of acting of some Catholics in the social-economic field has left much to be desired, this has often come about because they have not known and pondered sufficiently the teachings of the Sovereign Pontiffs on these questions. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance to foster in all classes of society an intensive program of social education adapted to the varying degrees of intellectual culture. It is necessary with all care and diligence to procure the widest possible diffusion of the

³⁷ Encycl. *Quadragesimo Anno*, May 15, 1931 (A. A. S., Vol. XXIII, 1931, p. 202).

teachings of the Church, even among the working-classes. The minds of men must be illuminated with the sure light of Catholic teaching, and their wills must be drawn to follow and apply it as the norm of right living in the conscientious fulfillment of their manifold social duties. Thus they will oppose that incoherence and discontinuity in Christian life which We have many times lamented. For there are some who, while exteriorly faithful to the practice of their religion, yet in the field of labor and industry, in the professions, trade and business, permit a deplorable cleavage in their conscience, and live a life too little in conformity with the clear principles of justice and Christian charity. Such lives are a scandal to the weak, and to the malicious a pretext to discredit the Church.

56. In this renewal the Catholic Press can play a prominent part. Its foremost duty is to foster in various attractive ways an ever better understanding of social doctrine. It should, too, supply accurate and complete information on the activity of the enemy and the means of resistance which have been found most effective in various quarters. It should offer useful suggestions and warn against the insidious deceits with which Communists endeavor, all too successfully, to attract even men of good faith.

57. On this point We have already insisted in Our Allocation of May 12th of last year, but We believe it to be a duty of special urgency, Venerable Brethren, to call your attention to it once again. In the beginning Communism showed itself for what it was in all its perversity; but very soon it realized that it was thus alienating the people. It has therefore changed its tactics, and strives to entice the multitudes by trickery of various forms, hiding its real designs behind ideas that in themselves are good and attractive. Thus, aware of the universal desire for peace, the leaders of Communism pretend to be the most zealous promoters and propagandists in the movement for world amity. Yet at the same time they stir up a class-warfare which causes rivers of blood to flow, and, realizing that their system offers no internal guarantee of peace, they have recourse to unlimited armaments. Under various names which do not suggest Communism, they establish organizations and periodicals with the sole purpose of carrying their ideas into quarters otherwise inaccessible. They try perfidiously to worm their way even into professedly Catholic and religious organizations. Again, without receding an inch from their subversive principles, they invite Cath-

olics to collaborate with them in the realm of so-called humanitarianism and charity; and at times even make proposals that are in perfect harmony with the Christian spirit and the doctrine of the Church. Elsewhere they carry their hypocrisy so far as to encourage the belief that Communism, in countries where faith and culture are more strongly entrenched, will assume another and much milder form. It will not interfere with the practice of religion. It will respect liberty of conscience. There are some even who refer to certain changes recently introduced into soviet legislation as a proof that Communism is about to abandon its program of war against God.

58. See to it, Venerable Brethren, that the Faithful do not allow themselves to be deceived! Communism is intrinsically wrong, and no one who would save Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever. Those who permit themselves to be deceived into lending their aid towards the triumph of Communism in their own country, will be the first to fall victims of their error. And the greater the antiquity and grandeur of the Christian civilization in the regions where Communism successfully penetrates, so much more devastating will be the hatred displayed by the godless.

59. But "unless the Lord keep the city, he watcheth in vain that keepeth it."³⁸ And so, as a final and most efficacious remedy, We recommend, Venerable Brethren, that in your dioceses you use the most practical means to foster and intensify the spirit of prayer joined with Christian penance. When the Apostles asked the Saviour why they had been unable to drive the evil spirit from a demoniac, Our Lord answered: "This kind is not cast out but by prayer and fasting."³⁹ So, too, the evil which today torments humanity can be conquered only by a world-wide holy crusade of prayer and penance. We ask especially the Contemplative Orders, men and women, to redouble their prayers and sacrifices to obtain from heaven efficacious aid for the Church in the present struggle. Let them implore also the powerful intercession of the Immaculate Virgin who, having crushed the head of the serpent of old, remains the sure protectress and invincible "Help of Christians."

PRIESTS

60. To apply the remedies thus briefly indicated to the task of saving the world as We have traced it above, Jesus Christ, our Divine King, has chosen priests as the first-line ministers

and messengers of His gospel. Theirs is the duty, assigned to them by a special vocation, under the direction of their Bishops and in filial obedience to the Vicar of Christ on earth, of keeping alight in the world the torch of Faith, and of filling the hearts of the Faithful with that supernatural trust which has aided the Church to fight and win so many other battles in the name of Christ: "This is the victory which overcometh the world, our Faith."⁴⁰

61. To priests in a special way We recommend anew the oft-repeated counsel of Our Predecessor, Leo XIII, to go to the workingman. We make this advice Our own, and faithful to the teachings of Jesus Christ and His Church, We thus complete it: "Go to the workingman, especially where he is poor; and in general, go to the poor." The poor are obviously more exposed than others to the wiles of agitators who, taking advantage of their extreme need, kindle their hearts to envy of the rich and urge them to seize by force what fortune seems to have denied them unjustly. If the priest will not go to the workingman and to the poor, to warn them or to disabuse them of prejudice and false theory, they will become an easy prey for the apostles of Communism.

62. Indisputably much has been done in this direction, especially after the publication of the Encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*. We are happy to voice Our paternal approval of the zealous pastoral activity manifested by so many Bishops and priests who have with due prudence and caution been planning and applying new methods of apostolate more adapted to modern needs. But for the solution of our present problem, all this effort is still inadequate. When our country is in danger, everything not strictly necessary, everything not bearing directly on the urgent matter of unified defense, takes second place. So we must act in today's crisis. Every other enterprise, however attractive and helpful, must yield before the vital need of protecting the very foundation of the Faith and of Christian civilization. Let our parish priests, therefore, while providing of course for the normal needs of the Faithful, dedicate the better part of their endeavors and their zeal to winning back the laboring masses to Christ and to His Church. Let them work to infuse the Christian spirit into quarters where it is least at home. The willing response of the masses, and results far exceeding their expectations, will not fail to reward them for their strenuous pioneer labor.

This has been and continues to be our experience in Rome and in other capitals, where zealous parish communities are being formed as new churches are built in the suburban districts, and real miracles are being worked in the conversion of people whose hostility to religion has been due solely to the fact that they did not know it.

63. But the most efficacious means of apostolate among the poor and lowly is the priest's example, the practice of all those sacerdotal virtues which We have described in Our Encyclical, *Ad Catholici Sacerdotii*.⁴¹ Especially needful, however, for the present situation is the shining example of a life which is humble, poor and disinterested, in imitation of a Divine Master Who could say to the world with divine simplicity: "The foxes have holes and the birds of the air nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head."⁴² A priest who is really poor and disinterested in the Gospel sense may work among his flock marvels recalling a Saint Vincent de Paul, a Cure of Ars, a Cottolengo, a Don Bosco, and so many others; while an avaricious and selfish priest, as We have noted in the above-mentioned Encyclical, even though he should not plunge with Judas to the abyss of treason, will never be more than empty "sounding brass" and useless "tinkling cymbal."⁴³ Too often, indeed, he will be a hindrance rather than an instrument of grace in the midst of his people. Furthermore, where a secular priest or religious is obliged by his office to administer temporal property, let him remember that he is not only to observe scrupulously all that charity and justice prescribe, but that he has a special obligation to conduct himself in very truth as a father of the poor.

CATHOLIC ACTION

64. After this appeal to the clergy, We extend Our paternal invitation to Our beloved sons among the laity who are doing battle in the ranks of Catholic Action. On another occasion⁴⁴ We have called this movement so dear to Our heart "a particularly providential assistance" in the work of the Church during these troublous times. Catholic Action is in effect a *social* apostolate also, inasmuch as its object is to spread the Kingdom of Jesus Christ not only among individuals, but also in families and in society. It must, therefore, make it a chief aim to train its members with special care and to pre-

³⁸ PSALMS, CXXVI, 1.

³⁹ ST. MATTHEW, XVII, 20.

⁴⁰ I EPIST. ST. JOHN, V, 4.

⁴¹ Dec. 20, 1935; A. A. S., vol. XXVIII (1936), pp. 5-53.

⁴² ST. MATTHEW, VIII, 20.

⁴³ I CORINTHIANS, XIII, 1.

⁴⁴ May 12, 1936.

are them to fight the battles of the Lord. This task of formation, now more urgent and indispensable than ever, which must always precede direct action in the field, will assuredly be served by study-circles, conferences, lecture-courses and the various other activities undertaken with a view to making known the Christian solution of the social problem.

65. The militant leaders of Catholic Action, thus properly prepared and armed, will be the first and immediate apostles of their fellow workmen. They will be an invaluable aid to the priest in carrying the torch of truth, and in relieving grave spiritual and material suffering, in many sectors where inveterate anti-clerical prejudice or deplorable religious indifference has proved a constant obstacle to the pastoral activity of God's ministers. In this way they will collaborate, under the direction of especially qualified priests, in that work of spiritual aid to the laboring classes on which We set so much store, because it is the means best calculated to save these, Our beloved children, from the snares of Communism.

66. In addition to this individual apostolate which, however useful and efficacious, often goes unheralded, Catholic Action must organize propaganda on a large scale to disseminate knowledge of the fundamental principles on which, according to the official documents, a Christian Social Order must build.

AUXILIARY ORGANIZATIONS

67. Ranged with Catholic Action are the groups which We have been happy to call its auxiliary forces. With paternal affection We exhort these valuable organizations also to dedicate themselves to the great mission of which We have been treating, a cause which today transcends all others in vital importance.

HOMOGENEOUS GROUPS

68. We are thinking likewise of those associations of workmen, farmers, technicians, doctors, employers, students, and others of like character, groups of men and women who live in the same cultural atmosphere and share the same way of life. Precisely these groups and organizations are destined to introduce into society that order which We have envisaged in Our Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, and thus to spread in the vast and various fields of culture and labor the recognition of the Kingdom of Christ.

69. Even where the State, because of changed social and economic conditions, has felt obliged to intervene directly in order to aid and regulate such organizations by special legisla-

tive enactments, supposing always the necessary respect for liberty and private initiative, Catholic Action may not urge the circumstance as an excuse for abandoning the field. Its members should contribute prudently and intelligently to the study of the problems of the hour in the light of Catholic doctrine. They should loyally and generously participate in the formation of the new institutions, bringing to them the Christian spirit which is the basic principle of order wherever men work together in fraternal harmony.

APPEAL TO CATHOLIC WORKERS

70. Here We should like to address a particularly affectionate word to Our Catholic workingmen, young and old. They have been given, perhaps as a reward for their often heroic fidelity in these trying days, a noble and an arduous mission. Under the guidance of their Bishops and priests, they are to bring back to the Church and to God those immense multitudes of their brother-workmen who, because they were not understood or treated with the respect to which they were entitled, in bitterness have strayed far from God. Let Catholic workingmen show these their wandering brethren by word and example that the Church is a tender Mother to all those who labor and suffer, and that she has never failed, and never will fail, in her sacred maternal duty of protecting her children. If this mission, which must be fulfilled in mines, in factories, in shops, wherever they may be laboring, should at times require great sacrifices, Our workmen will remember that the Saviour of the world has given them an example not only of toil but of self-immolation.

NEED OF UNITY AMONG CATHOLICS

71. To all Our children, finally, of every social rank and every nation, to every religious and lay organization in the Church, We make another and more urgent appeal for union. Many times Our paternal heart has been saddened by the divergencies—often idle in their causes, always tragic in their consequences—which array in opposing camps the sons of the same Mother Church. Thus it is that the radicals, who are not so very numerous, profiting by this discord, are able to make it more acute, and end by pitting Catholics one against the other. In view of the events of the past few months, Our warning must seem superfluous. We repeat it nevertheless once more, for those who have not understood, or perhaps do not desire to understand. Those who make a practice of spreading dissension among Catholics assume a terrible responsibility before God and the Church.

INVITATION TO ALL BELIEVERS

72. But in this battle joined by the powers of darkness against the very idea of Divinity, it is Our fond hope that, besides the host which glories in the name of Christ, all those—and they comprise the overwhelming majority of mankind—who still believe in God and pay Him homage may take a decisive part. We therefore renew the invitation extended to them five years ago in Our Encyclical *Caritate Christi*, invoking their loyal and hearty collaboration "in order to ward off from mankind the great danger that threatens all alike." Since, as We then said, "belief in God is the unshakable foundation of all social order and of all responsibility on earth, it follows that all those who do not want anarchy and terrorism ought to take energetic steps to prevent the enemies of religion from attaining the goal they have so brazenly proclaimed to the world."⁴⁵

Aid to the Church

73. Such is the positive task, embracing at once theory and practice, which the Church undertakes in virtue of the mission, confided to her by Christ, of constructing a Christian society, and, in our own times, of resisting unto victory the attacks of Communism. It is the duty of the Christian State to concur actively in this spiritual enterprise of the Church, aiding her with the means at its command, which although they be external devices, have nonetheless for their prime object the good of souls.

74. This means that all diligence should be exercised by States to prevent within their territories the ravages of an anti-God campaign which shakes society to its very foundations. For there can be no authority on earth unless the authority of the Divine Majesty be recognized; no oath will bind which is not sworn in the Name of the Living God. We repeat what We have said with frequent insistence in the past, especially in Our Encyclical *Caritate Christi*: "How can any contract be maintained, and what value can any treaty have, in which every guarantee of conscience is lacking? And how can there be talk of guarantees of conscience when all faith in God and all fear of God have vanished? Take away this basis, and with it all moral law falls, and there is no remedy left to stop the gradual but inevitable destruction of peoples, families, the State, civilization itself."⁴⁶

Provision for the Common Good

75. It must likewise be the special

⁴⁵ Encycl. *Caritate Christi*, May 3, 1932 (A. A. S., vol. XXIV, p. 184).

⁴⁶ Encycl. *Caritate Christi*, May 3, 1932 (A. A. S., vol. XXIV, 1932, p. 190).

care of the State to create those material conditions of life without which an orderly society cannot exist. The State must take every measure necessary to supply employment, particularly for the heads of families and for the young. To achieve this end demanded by the pressing needs of the common welfare, the wealthy classes must be induced to assume those burdens without which human society cannot be saved nor they themselves remain secure. However, measures taken by the State with this end in view ought to be of such a nature that they will really affect those who actually possess more than their share of capital resources, and who continue to accumulate them to the grievous detriment of others.

Prudent and Sober Administration

76. The State itself, mindful of its responsibility before God and society, should be a model of prudence and sobriety in the administration of the commonwealth. Today more than ever the acute world crisis demands that those who dispose of immense funds, built up on the sweat and toil of millions, keep constantly and singly in mind the common good. State functionaries and all employees are obliged in conscience to perform their duties faithfully and unselfishly, imitating the brilliant example of distinguished men of the past and of our own day, who with unremitting labor sacrificed their all for the good of their country. In international trade-relations let all means be sedulously employed for the removal of those artificial barriers to economic life which are the effects of distrust and hatred. All must remember that the peoples of the earth form but one family in God.

Unrestricted Freedom for the Church

77. At the same time the State must allow the Church full liberty to fulfill her divine and spiritual mission, and this in itself will be an effectual contribution to the rescue of nations from

the dread torment of the present hour. Everywhere today there is an anxious appeal to moral and spiritual forces; and rightly so, for the evil we must combat is at its origin primarily an evil of the spiritual order. From this polluted source the monstrous emanations of the communistic system flow with satanic logic. Now, the Catholic Church is undoubtedly preeminent among the moral and religious forces of today. Therefore the very good of humanity demands that her work be allowed to proceed unhindered.

78. Those who act otherwise, and at the same time fondly pretend to attain their objective with purely political or economic means, are in the grip of a dangerous error. When religion is banished from the school, from education, and from public life, when the representatives of Christianity and its sacred rites are held up to ridicule, are we not really fostering the materialism which is the fertile soil of Communism? Neither force, however well organized it be, nor earthly ideals however lofty or noble, can control a movement whose roots lie in the excessive esteem for the goods of this world.

79. We trust that those rulers of nations who are at all aware of the extreme danger threatening every people today, may be more and more convinced of their supreme duty not to hinder the Church in the fulfillment of her mission. This is the more imperative since, while this mission has in view man's happiness in heaven, it cannot but promote his true felicity in time.

THE ERRING RECALLED

80. We cannot conclude this Encyclical Letter without addressing some words to those of Our children who are more or less tainted with the Communist plague. We earnestly exhort them to hear the voice of their loving Father. We pray the Lord to enlighten them that they may abandon the slippery path which will precipitate one and all to ruin and catastrophe, and

that they recognize that Jesus Christ, Our Lord, is their only Saviour: "For there is no other name under heaven given to man, whereby we must be saved."⁴⁷

CONCLUSION

81. To hasten the advent of that "peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ"⁴⁸ so ardently desired by all. We place the vast campaign of the Church against world Communism under the standard of St. Joseph, her mighty Protector. He belongs to the working-class, and he bore the burdens of poverty for himself and the Holy Family, whose tender and vigilant head he was. To him was entrusted the Divine Child when Herod loosed his assassins against Him. In a life of faithful performance of everyday duties, he left an example for all those who must gain their bread by the toil of their hands. He won for himself the title of "The Just," serving thus as a living model of that Christian justice which should reign in social life.

82. With eyes lifted on high, Our Faith sees the new heavens and the new earth described by Our first Predecessor, St. Peter.⁴⁹ While the promises of the false prophets of this earth melt away in blood and tears, the great apocalyptic prophecy of the Redeemer shines forth in heavenly splendor: "Behold, I make all things new."⁵⁰

Venerable Brethren, nothing remains but to raise Our paternal hands to call down upon you, upon your clergy and people, upon the whole Catholic family, the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on the feast of St. Joseph, Patron of the Universal Church, the nineteenth day of March, in the year 1937, the sixteenth of Our Pontificate.

PIUS PP. XI.

⁴⁷ ACTS, IV, 12.

⁴⁸ Encycl. *Ubi Arcano*, Dec. 23, 1922 (A. S., Vol. XIV, 1922, p. 691).

⁴⁹ II EPIST. ST. PETER, III, 13; cf. ISAIAH, LXV, 17 and LXVI, 22; Apos. XXI, 1.

⁵⁰ APOC. XXI, 5.



Part IV *Documentation*



This section is omitted for April. The Papal Encyclical was deemed of such importance that all remaining space was devoted to that outstanding document. Likewise, Fr. Walsh's comment on the "treason trials" in Moscow has been held over.